



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Fighters Replace Soviet Bombers in GDR

LD1707161989 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin July 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy: Thirty Soviet bombers located on the territory of the German Democratic Republic were replaced by fighters after a bomber regiment, armed with Su-24 planes, was redeployed from the Western Group of Troops to an aerodrome in Belorussia. Another such regiment will leave the German Democratic Republic for the USSR four days later, and their place will be taken by air units flying MiG-27 fighters.

"This action is taken as part of the efforts to implement the Soviet defensive doctrine," said Air Major General Nikolay Posrednikov, commander of a formation from which the bombers are withdrawn. He explained that the MiG-27 plane carries half the bomb load, has a considerably shorter range and is capable of performing interception tasks. "This combat equipment," the general believes, "is obviously defensive in nature which is in line with the spirit of time and obligations taken by the Soviet state and its allies."

Moiseyev Views Withdrawal

LD1707223889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Report by V. Volshin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today a bomber aviation regiment of the Western Group of Forces, equipped with Su-24 planes, was withdrawn from the GDR. This action was implemented within the practical implementation of Soviet military defensive doctrine.

[Begin recording] [Voloshin] This bomber regiment belongs to strike aviation, and now its tasks are changing. In accordance with defensive military doctrine, this is the first time that air force units of this kind are being withdrawn from the territory of states which are our allies.

This is the last flight briefing at this airfield. The navigators are plotting a new flight path, one that the regiment's pilots are not used to—the way home. On the eve of this flight, we discussed a great many things with them and with the aircraft technicians. Everyone regards the withdrawal of their unit from the air force of the Western Group of Forces with understanding. But the regiment is not being cut back. These people's service will continue in a new place.

In the process of cutbacks you have probably even been asked by the voters whether it is not going to affect the ensuring of the defense capacity.

[N.A. Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and head of the Political Administration of the Western Group of Forces] The reductions in the numbers of personnel of the Group of Forces should in no way affect

the operational readiness of the group as a whole. That is why now, in transferring the troops to a new organizational-establishment structure, we are first and foremost pursuing the objective of ensuring the necessary level of operational readiness and vigilance under the new conditions. We have now thought everything through sensibly; we have prepared the training material base and the equipment well. The main thing is to ensure the qualitative fulfillment of the requirements of defensive doctrine. [end recording]

Tank Unit To Be Withdrawn From Poland

LD1607071189 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 0500 GMT 16 Jul 89

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Members of a public group to supervise the reductions in Soviet troops and weapons have spent some time in Poland. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent (Viktor Shutkeyevich) has reported on this. He reminds us that the members of the group have already carried out seven trips to Soviet military subunits in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, the GDR, and Poland over a period of 2 months. Approximately 26,000 servicemen, more than 3,000 tanks, about 600 pieces of ordnance, and more than 40 aircraft have been withdrawn from these countries, according to the information gathered up to now.

The withdrawal of the tank regiment from the Soviet garrison in Strachow, in southwestern Poland, is next in line. Why is it that tank units are the first to be withdrawn? This is done in accordance with the new military doctrine adopted by our Army, according to which a change in the structure of troops is carried out simultaneously with the general reduction of their numbers.

5-6 Nuclear Subs Set for Baltic Sea Withdrawal

LD1607085789 London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH
in English 16 Jul 89 p 13

[From the "World Watch" column]

[Text] Moscow will withdraw five or six ageing nuclear-armed submarines from the Baltic Sea at the beginning of next year, and expects Washington to respond in kind, Mr Aleksandr Rudenko, a Soviet general staff officer, said yesterday.

Chernyshev Questions U.S. Stance on Missiles

LD1407180989 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT
14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The Warsaw Treaty countries stated at the Bucharest meeting of their military political committee that the socialist countries regard the drafting of a treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms of the USSR and

the United States, provided the ABM Treaty is kept in the form it was signed in 1972, as their top priority goal in the field of disarmament.

The 11th round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms is currently under way in Geneva.

A firm foundation has been built in the previous ten rounds: The draft treaty, 90 per cent ready, contains the agreement to fix upper limits on the number of strategic carriers and their warheads and sets upper levels on the aggregate number of warheads of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles and sub-levels on so-called heavy missiles.

Besides, agreement was reached on the size of reductions of the aggregate ICBM and SLBM throw-weight.

Nonetheless, a number of outstanding problems remain. Specifically, it is necessary to bring closer positions on such issues of land-based mobile missiles, sea and air launched cruise missiles, and interrelationship between the reduction of nuclear armaments and assured non-militarisation of outer space.

The Soviet Union has come to the current round of talks in Geneva with a readiness to strive to bridge the differences in the positions.

It is believed in Moscow that, given a constructive approach from both sides, it would be possible to achieve that within the shortest possible period.

Regrettably, Washington does not as yet display a practical aspiration to speed up the agreement. After a lengthy analysis of the situation at the talks, conducted by the George Bush administration, the United States has not made any changes to its previous stance, that would contribute to resolving outstanding issues.

What is alarming is the gap between declarations by American officials and Washington's negotiating policy,

This applies, specifically, to the issue of sea launched cruise missiles. The U.S. President stated recently that the American delegation in Geneva will place emphasis on reducing and limiting strategic nuclear arms that pose the greatest threat to security and stability.

And although sea launched cruise missiles are among destabilising types of arms, the U.S. shows no readiness to start handling this problem.

It is also surprising that Washington has not altered its stance on land-based mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Regan administration favoured their total prohibition. The incumbent President requested congress to finance the development of two types of mobile missiles, MX and Midgetman, even without attempting to clarify this issue at the Geneva talks.

What could be the explanation of Washington's stance? Is it due to its reduced interest in the mutual reduction of strategic offensive weapons? Could it be that the U.S. is seeking to protract the Geneva talks and bide its time for developing a more perfect weapon so as to be able to make up for possible quantitative reductions by the moment the treaty is drafted by achieving a qualitative growth in strategic forces?

These questions worry all who are sincerely interested in sharply reducing the risk of a sudden outbreak of nuclear conflict.

Foreign Ministry Clarifies Disarmament Stand
LD1507104589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1014 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul (TASS)—The Soviet Union has from the outset advocated, as it still advocates, dynamic negotiations and dynamic reductions in conventional armed forces. This was said to a TASS diplomatic correspondent in the USSR Foreign Ministry Information directorate when he asked for clarification of the situation in respect of Lieutenant General Viktor Starodubov's interview with the 'THE WASHINGTON POST' newspaper. In his interview the general said, inter alia, that a future accord on the reduction of conventional armed forces could not be implemented earlier than 1996-97. U.S. President George Bush expressed reservations as to the definitives of that judgement.

The TASS diplomatic correspondent was told that the official Soviet position on this matter had been set out at a briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry's press center on 13 July; it was based on the view that given a constructive approach by all participants at the Vienna talks, an accord could be reached at those talks as early as 1990 or even earlier.

The implementation of such an accord, despite the objective technical difficulties, was possible as early as 1992-93. That would be more realistic if mutually acceptable procedures for destroying armaments reduced were agreed at the talks, thereby making the reduction process easier and guaranteeing reliable verification of it.

The Soviet Union has no intention of postponing the important matter of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe, which the socialist countries have long and consistently advocated. As regards what Gen Viktor Starodubov said, the USSR Foreign Ministry is authorized to state that he was speaking only in a personal capacity.

USSR 'Satisfied' With Results of Vienna Talks
*LD1707172389 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—The Soviet Union is satisfied with the results of the first session of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence- and security- building measures, the leader of the Soviet delegation to the negotiations, Oleg Grinevskiy, told a news briefing today.

He said that the session revealed either agreement or similarities between the sides' positions on a number of fundamental issues and that marked headway was made.

But he expressed the opinion that even the latest proposals of Western countries don't change much in the substance of the NATO posturing. For example, NATO continues to insist on reducing all warplanes, including such purely defensive systems as air-defence interceptor fighters unable to attack ground targets.

Grinevskiy also expressed wariness about the tendency of Western counterparts to artificially limit the problem of troop cuts to the reduction of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States outside their national territories.

He noted with regret the talks' failure to make enough progress on such classes of arms as tanks, armoured personnel carriers and artillery, pointing, in particular, to attempts to exempt a whole number of infantry fighting vehicles and artillery pieces from the projected cuts under all manner of pretexts.

Grinevskiy said that these attempts betray a striving to leave numerous loopholes in the future agreement.

He remarked in this connection that the unprecedentedly bold tasks facing the negotiators demand unprecedented joint efforts, and declared Soviet readiness to achieve an agreement within the next six to 12 months.

Speaking of the session's drawbacks, Grinevskiy said that the opposite numbers failed to start a detailed discussion on verification and data exchanges.

He said that he doesn't see any differences in the fundamental approaches of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty to this problem and that the USSR is for very serious, stringent and intrusive verification, including on-site inspections, arms reduction monitoring, control posts and all other means offered by modern science and technology.

This, however, requires specific developments and proposals which neither side, alas, has yet to offer, Grinevskiy said.

Public Monitoring Group Notes Soviet Arms Cuts
*LD1407112489 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT
14 Jul 89*

["Public Group Confirms Soviet Arms Cuts on Schedule—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—"The Soviet Union is reducing its troops and weapons on the territories of the Warsaw Treaty countries strictly on schedule," said Andrey Kokoshin, head of a Soviet public group set up to monitor unilateral Soviet arms and armed forces cuts.

Kokoshin is a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and deputy director of the USA and Canada Studies Institute. Speaking at the group's meeting here today, he said that the organisation, founded by several Soviet public organisations in April 1989, unites prominent Soviet scientists, public figures and people's deputies.

He said that representatives sent by the group to the northern, western, central and southern groups of Soviet troops had confirmed that the reductions were being carried out strictly as scheduled.

"Although everything is going on schedule, we understand the difficulties encountered by the Soviet military in disbanding army units and divisions. Most of them are of social character. All officers and men to be discharged from the service should be provided with housing and employment, and a special state programme should be drawn up to solve this problem at a proper level."

Kokoshin and other group members believe that these problems should be tackled by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defence and State Security to which they are planning to send written proposals based on the results of the monitoring.

Sorokin Scorns SDI 'Brilliant Pebbles' Project
*PM1107105389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Konstantin Sorokin "Viewpoint": " 'Star Wars' Fashion"]

[Text] Having taken the reins of government, the new Washington leadership has announced that the priorities in the SDI program have changed—for the umpteenth time. The "Brilliant Pebbles" project—the plan to deploy space platforms equipped with small missile interceptors—is to be the "rage" this year and possibly next.

How many similar "fads" have come and gone—X-Ray and other lasers, charged and neutral particle generators, and rail guns. All these programs eventually came unstuck on grounds of cost, technical feasibility, or effectiveness. However, retaining the belief in the postulate that the deployment of strategic defense ensures greater security, the incumbent U.S. leaders have, like

their predecessors, only drawn the following two conclusions from the serious of failures: that it will not be possible to create an impenetrable shield—at least for the time being; and that the emphasis was put on the “wrong” projects. Those are, strictly speaking, the main tenets on which the decision to continue SDI and submit the “Brilliant Pebbles” plan was based early this year.

This will hardly be much more successful than its predecessors. The cited cost of the project—\$25 billion—is more of an understatement. Because 10,000-100,000 interceptor missiles costing up to \$1.5 million each, satellite platforms, and combat infrastructure subsystems will have to be developed and procured and vast sums spent siting the entire system in space.

The effectiveness of the system being developed is also in doubt. It is not only that its creation will require the use of unrehearsed [neotrabotanny] technologies. Physicist R. Kidder from the Livermore Laboratory (where the “Brilliant Pebbles” project was born) believes that the USSR could foil the entire plan by constructing missiles that will “jump” into space more quickly and kill their bright rocket flare before the interceptors can target them.

What is to be done about the strategic consequences of this system's deployment? Whether it is geared to reducing the results of a “surprise attack,” intercepting a “random launch,” or weakening a retaliatory strike, it will inevitably be in a state of constant combat readiness. Thus, to use Pentagon consultant P. Wilson's expression, “a space minefield” will be created. Which will, in addition, have the ability to self-activate.

Press reports indicate that there are nonetheless doubts in Washington as to the success of the next venture. It is no coincidence that Pentagon chief R. Cheney said that, if the “Brilliant Pebble” concept proves worthless, the United States will choose one of the projects that have already been rejected for active development. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Joint Chiefs of Staff speak skeptically on the whole about the prospects for “star wars.” Why not abandon this dangerous concept altogether?

I think that the reasons for this are multifaceted. The notion that the country's security can be guaranteed by technical means has always been popular among the U.S. “foreign policy elite.” When “star wars” existed only in the U.S. political and military lexicon, a great deal was said in Washington to the effect that U.S. technological and economic potential was sufficient to implement the boldest ideas. Now that considerable difficulties have cropped up, it has become “necessary to save face,” that is, to continue the program at any cost. Of course, there are optimists in the United States who really believe that “something will turn up.” Especially among those people who have a direct economic interest in the continuation of SDI. The fact that studies on the SDI program have assumed their own inertia

is also significant: Thousands of scientists and hundreds of laboratories—not only in the United States itself, moreover—are involved in these studies.

The ups-and-downs in the implementation of SDI present mankind with useful lessons. Technical methods of boosting one's own security are extremely costly and are inherently dangerous. Political means seem clearly preferable in every respect.

However powerful a country is, it should not overestimate its own might and try to “invest” it in an arms race. Drastic increases in the complexity and cost of military programs bring mankind to a stage beyond which the continuation of military competition ceases to be reasonable behavior in the international arena. The new situation must be understood and accepted and, if it is to be “challenged,” it must be challenged by political means.

Disarmament Expert Discusses Soviet Foreign Policy
AU1707155989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 5 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with Soviet diplomat Viktor Israelyan by Gabor Horvath in Budapest, date not given: “Two Decades at the Negotiating Table”]

[Text] As a professional diplomat, Viktor Israelyan has dealt with disarmament issues for more than 2 decades and has led dozens of Soviet negotiating delegations, most recently at the talks on eliminating chemical weapons. He also travels and holds negotiations as a retired ambassador. He is currently working on establishing an international organization of retired diplomats. During his short visit to Budapest, we spoke with him about changes in Soviet foreign policy.

[Horvath] In your view, what is the main difference between Soviet foreign policy in the Brezhnev-era and current Soviet foreign policy?

[Israelyan] I see the difference mainly in its style, methods, and ways of approach. The simplifying of concepts prevailed earlier, but since 1985 our foreign policy has been increasingly aware of the realities. Earlier, we knew only two colors on the political palette: black and white. We considered anyone who was not with us to be our enemy. The style of the Stalinist leadership also prevailed in diplomacy. It is enough to mention Vishinskiy who was one of the prominent representatives of diplomacy of confrontation. Later on many diplomats also continued this tough and rejectionist line of constantly criticizing the negotiating partner. However, the essence of diplomacy is precisely how to find a common language. Thus, relations only became increasingly tense and it was increasingly difficult to reach agreements. The enemy image—both on our side and on the other side—is one of the most lasting elements of the Stalinist

heritage. Today's Soviet diplomats already consider the other side to be partners in the negotiations, partners with whom they have to cooperate in order to reach a certain goal.

[Horvath] You took part in restructuring the Soviet foreign policy. Obviously, it was not easy to switch over to the new way of thinking.

[Israelyan] We professional diplomats were aware of our previous mistakes. Already at that time, many of us expressed our critical opinions about some of our measures and positions. Therefore, everything taking place in Soviet foreign policy since 1985 has already been maturing for some time. Of course, nobody thought that we would be able to change so quickly. I myself led our delegation to the chemical weapons talks for 15 years, and I became convinced that our position concerning on-the-spot verification was unrealistic and we would never reach an agreement on the basis of this position. I repeatedly reported this to the center, but in vain. I myself was surprised at the quick change that took place after 1985. The quickly emerging results also convinced

those people who, at the beginning perhaps had some reservations about this new policy.

[Horvath] On the basis of your more than 2 decades of negotiating experience, in your view, is Gorbachev's nuclear disarmament plan of January 1986 realistic? A plan according to which all nuclear arms would have to be destroyed by the year 2000.

[Israelyan] I think I can already say that, together with some colleagues, I also took part in working out this plan, and thus this subject is particularly close to me. This issue has had a very good start in the past 3 1/2 years, not only because we succeeded in coming to an agreement on intermediate range missiles, as these make up only 4-5 percent of all the existing nuclear weapons. One can imagine nuclear disarmament only in a radically changed political situation, and we have already succeeded in easing the atmosphere of a total lack of confidence. This is more than one single agreement: this is a good basis for advancement. If this process continues, we will also be able to carry out nuclear disarmament. Perhaps not by the year 2000, but this is not essential. The essential thing is that this disarmament should become a comprehensive process.

Petrovskiy Views Socialist States' Conference
*LD1307201289 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT
13 Jul 89*

[Text] Minsk July 13 TASS—By TASS correspondents Tatiana Khryapina and Konstantin Voitsekhovich:

A conference of deputy foreign ministers of socialist countries ended today in the capital of Belorussia. For three days diplomats from the USSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia together with their colleagues from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the GDR, Bulgaria, Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos discussed in an atmosphere of openness topical problems connected with the agenda of the coming 44th U.N. General Assembly session and exchanged views on the main problems facing [words indistinct] in the sphere of politics, economy and international law.

"The conference permitted to work out common coordinated approaches to all the items of the agenda of the coming General Assembly session," Vladimir Petrovskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister, told TASS. Commenting on the results of the meeting, he said that it had adopted a decision on a joint initiative of socialist countries aimed at consolidating and deepening rejuvenation [words indistinct] as well as at reviving the role of the United Nations Organisation as the centre of concerted actions of all the countries.

Aside from it, the delegations will come up at the General Assembly session with their own proposals on a [word indistinct] package of questions connected with ensuring security in a broad sense of the word. "Participants in the conference came to the unanimous conclusion that, along with disarmament and the ensurance of international security, humanity is facing the problem of preserving its habitat as one of the most important conditions of survival," he continued. The conference was held in an atmosphere of businesslike and frank exchanges of views which sometimes were different, the Soviet diplomat pointed out. However, this did not prevent its participants from working out a common stand on the key problems of the modern world.

"The conference was useful and effective," Andre Erdes, head of the main department of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, told TASS. "Discussions at the conference permitted to work out joint approaches to the solution of many international problems." When various views and assessments are clashing, unity can be achieved through open and constructive discussions in which positions of the partners are taken into account and the readiness for compromise is shown, the Hungarian diplomat pointed out. Only this real, and not formal, unity can help socialist countries work out common [words indistinct] to the solution of key problems of the modern world facing the United Nations Organisation.

States Support Greater UN Peace Role
*LD1707223589 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—Deputy foreign ministers of socialist countries have declared for bringing out in full the peacemaking potential of the United Nations Organisation. They met in Minsk last week to discuss preparations for a regular 44th, UN General Assembly session. Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, told this at a news briefing here today. He informed journalists about the results of this conference.

Such coordinating meetings of thirteen UN member-states with the participation of a representative of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) had become traditional, he said. An extensive exchange of views was held on the renewal processes in the United Nations, which were launched largely by socialist countries' efforts.

Socialist states intend to declare at the session for the development of a non-confrontational dialogue on the issue of a comprehensive approach to international security and simultaneously to focus efforts on actions to enhance the efficiency of the United Nations Organisation and primarily that of the role of the United Nations main bodies and its peace-keeping operations.

Petrovskiy noted that the participants in the Minsk conference agreed that enhanced attention at the forthcoming general assembly session should be paid also to opening the United Nations diplomatic potential. They also favoured a continuation of an in-depth discussion on assuring the supremacy of law in international relations.

Virtually all socialist countries are set to work dedicatedly and constructively at the session and confirm by concrete deeds their striving for the United Nations to serve as a center of finding a balance of parties' interests and harmonising the actions of all states to assure a comprehensive approach to international security.

Falin Views Impact of Bucharest Parley
*PM1207152989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 12 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview with V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, conducted by APN correspondent S. Polzikov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "We Must Not Repeat the Past"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Polzikov] Valentin Mikhaylovich, the Political Consultative Committee meeting has ended and the documents have been signed. What are the distinguishing features of this meeting?

[Falin] This meeting was distinguished by the ability of the Warsaw Pact countries to react to a developing, new, and rapidly changing situation. In effect there were not

so many present-day questions discussed. There were attempts to find answers to the challenge of the time: What should Europe and the world be like at the end of the 20th century? The Warsaw Pact's answer was outlined clearly and precisely. It must be a nonnuclear and nonviolent world, a world founded on a balance of interests rather than a balance of force, a world where each people will be able to make its own choice—political and social—where every nation will be able to realize its potential in accordance with its traditions and in accordance with how it sees its present and its future. I think that this sitting was a considerable step forward in this respect.

Another point. Apart from questions which are traditionally put forward for discussion at these kind of sittings, namely international, military, and political questions, considerable space was occupied by the question of renewing socialism as such. This process is taking place in a different way, at a different rate, and with different substance in every country. But it is happening everywhere. Comparison of opinions, comparison of experience, and comparison of viewpoints that may clash, and comparison of difficulties—that is in itself a significant new phenomenon. The discussion of these aspects of the international situation—and the situation within countries affects the international situation—was thorough and practical.

The Warsaw Pact's transformation from a military-political to a politico-military organization is a most important step toward creating a nonviolent Europe. This sets our Western partners a good example since a contradictory process is taking place within NATO, as was rightly pointed out in Bucharest. They have an instinctive understanding of the need to live in a new way but the old view still hangs on to the death, sometimes so persistently that a step forward is accompanied by half a step back or by two whole steps back. One can detect the desire in many of the West's proposals, sometimes even the positive proposals, to place themselves in a better position than the East, a desire to haggle or impose conditions which will put NATO or individual NATO members in a privileged position. If we do not abandon this, we will not create a new secure and peaceful Europe, equally friendly to every one of its peoples.

[Polzikov] Please tell us, was consensus achieved at the meeting?

[Falin] There were shades of opinion and more than that—there were different opinions as regards international affairs and internal affairs in individual countries. But I believe that this is a positive feature of the process that is under way. We must replace pseudounity with genuine unity. We must only tell one another the truth if we are friends.

[Polzikov] Valentin Mikhaylovich, if we look at the first 6 months of 1989.... What kind of period was this in international politics, what are the main results of this period?

[Falin] As they say in Russia, "don't count your chickens until the fall" and it is not the fall yet. Nevertheless, the summer will be brief, if there is a political summer at all. According to the schedule, a great deal has already been mapped out for July, August, and September and of course 1989 is a crucial year in many respects. It is linked with changes in various countries. The United States has a new president and a new administration. This administration has 4 years ahead of it and President Bush will, probably, try to prolong his term. Consequently, if you take the U.S. aspect—and it is very important in international affairs—we have the groundwork and there is time enough for serious sound work. Important events have occurred in Europe. They are linked above all with the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles deployed in Europe.

Something else is also changing. Sentiments are changing. People have realized that disarmament is no abstract dream, no utopia. Disarmament is materially possible and technically feasible. Goodwill alone is necessary for this today. The volume of information today is so great that people in Europe and throughout the world have learned to discern the real dangers and imaginary dangers and begin to separate one from the other.

Very major events have occurred at regional level. I am referring either to settlements or to concrete steps toward a settlement. Although Soviet soldiers have left Afghanistan, the conflict there is continuing. Yet we have heard millions of words saying that it was the presence of the Soviet troops that created the tension, engendered the conflict, and prevented it being settled. It turns out that was not the case. But some prospects have opened up all the same.

There have been changes in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Guns have grown silent there and, although a political settlement is developing in a slow and protracted way—a bad peace is better than a good quarrel. Progress has also been made in the Cambodian tangle. The Vietnamese stance calls for a settlement and is opening up the possibility of such a settlement. But, as unfortunately sometimes happens when one side makes concessions, the other side steps up the pressure and increases its demands. This is not characteristic of the new approach, but constitutes the inertia of the past. If you take Angola and Namibia, the situation in Africa is also complex and contradictions and shortcomings also exist, but there is also movement toward a settlement. In short, there are signs of change.

I would like to think that such important regions as Central and Latin America as a whole will not be excluded from this process either, nor the Near East, and Lebanon—that bleeding wound which is on mankind's conscience. Of course, we can see how the Palestinian uprising is being suppressed and how the Palestinian people's right to self-determination is being suppressed. We see very complex and dangerous tendencies for new

types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, to proliferate. If we do not take steps now, the problem of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons will be even harder to resolve, while the task of building a nuclear-free world will be even more complex.

How are things going? If events developed on the basis of and in accordance with the program that the socialist countries outlined, qualitative changes are quite possible by late 1989 or early 1990 at the latest. The groundwork for this exists. Primarily, the Vienna talks, which are proceeding at a good pace and quite concretely and thoroughly at the present, unlike other talks. Thus in the first half of 1989 a great deal of useful work was done out although—I am expressing my own opinion in this case—considerable time was wasted. The work could have been carried out faster without repeating past lessons. In this case repetition is not instructive. Repetition represents a waste of the most precious commodity there is today—time. We can never make up the time we may lose.

[Polzikov] What is your opinion of M.S. Gorbachev's series of visits this year?

[Falin] The visits are important in that they provide an opportunity for active dialogue. The visits—to the FRG, and prior to that, to Britain, and just recently to France—were not protocol trips. They showed the stock of goodwill that really exists in public opinion, I want to draw attention to this, and the stock of opportunities that have been opened up for governments. Politics today is not the art of the possible, it is above all the art of turning the possible into a reality. This was what M.S. Gorbachev did in Britain, the FRG, and France.

[Polzikov] Are you a political optimist?

[Falin] We don't have the choice. We must be optimists since the alternative to optimism is the decline and end of civilization. That is why he who believes in the healthy rational principle in man must be optimistic. I am a realist, I do not want to embellish the situation but I have always believed that the main thing in man is his humanity, this has prompted me to make attempts and efforts to ensure that tomorrow is better than yesterday.

Paris Summit's Economic Agenda Viewed

Kryukov Assesses Major Issues

OW1507102789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Kryukov commentary]

[Text] The summit, a conference of top leaders from the seven capitalist industrialized nations, will open in Paris on 14 July. In this concern, Radio Moscow economic affairs observer Kryukov writes as follows:

How do the bilateral relations among the participating nations stand at present? The process of integration as well as cooperation has apparently emerged in the world's economic exchanges in about the past two years. On the other hand, a virtual retrogression from free trade to protective trade has also been noted. It is certain that these trends will be one of the topics for discussion at the Paris summit. These two trends can be clearly traced back to the adoption of the bill on protective trade in the United States last year and the measures taken by the EC.

As is known to all, the EC plans to work out its own integrated market by 1992. Moreover, an agreement on preferential duties was signed between the United States and Canada last year. Thus, Japan has become isolated and seems to be confronting integrated partners. This is a new situation for Japan. Such a situation will probably limit Japan's chances for either confronting the United States while cooperating with the EC or confronting the EC while cooperating with the United States and Canada.

Relations between Japan and its opponents have become aggravated as the Paris summit draws near judging from what happened during the past few months. This is particularly true of its relations with the United States. The new aggravated confrontation between the two nations is related to the U.S. intention to apply various protective trade bill provisions on Japan. In other words, it concerns the so-called Super 301 provision of the bill.

There is nothing new at all in the denunciations against Japan. Japan is held responsible for the deficits in both the federal government's budgets and in U.S. trade. The United States points out that Japan's import system has not been sufficiently liberalized. The U.S. trade representative's office has pointed out over 30 barriers of various types against imports from the United States. In this connection, the United States will probably impose economic sanctions on Japan as punitive action and in accordance with its trade bill.

Therefore, at the Paris summit, Prime Minister Uno and his close associates will explain Japan's efforts to correct the trade imbalance positively and refute the denunciations which Japan regards as unsupported. For instance, Minister of Industry and International Trade Kajiyama states that Japan will pledge that it will become a major importing nation at the Paris summit. Prime Minister

Uno is expected to explain to the nations participating in the summit the meaning of the 3 percent consumption tax, which is a measure taken to promote Japan's economic exchanges with foreign nations in a balanced way.

As is known to all, the introduction of the consumption tax is one of the reasons why the Liberal Democratic Party executives have lost their prestige at a time when the upper house election is drawing near. In fact, it cannot be denied that Japan has taken measures to tone down, under the pressure from the United States and Western Europe, its confrontations with its partners. Japan's imports of industrial products from the United States and the EC member nations have increased rapidly. And in 1988, its imports from these nations accounted for over half of Japan's total imports. Japan has also taken measures to expand its domestic demands. Moreover, Japan has pledged and provided large amounts of aid to developing nations and it will probably announce further increase of the aid.

However, will these matters be taken into consideration at the summit? At present, Japan is promoting the policy of exporting capitals to the United States, and this has caused an increase of the employment rate in the United States and has somewhat contributed to easing the deficits in the federal budgets. Nevertheless, supporters of the hardline policy in the United States regard them as an attempt to buy up the nation. Meanwhile, a U.S. legal agency announced recently that by building branch plants in the United States, Japanese car makers have deprived American workers of 25,000 job chances. However, Japanese enterprises have discarded the figure as untrue.

Such is the current situation of Japan-U.S. relations. And dark clouds seem to be drifting from the EC side, too. Not only newspapers but also a legal agency under the EC have stated that when Europe is integrated in 1992, it will probably have competitive power not inferior to that of Japan. Of late, Japan has been engaged in active preparations for the year 1992. For example, production bases have been built in Western Europe. As of last January, 411 joint ventures had been established in Western Europe with participation of Japanese capitals. Just as in the case of Japan's investment in the United States, this has been denounced as an attempt at economic colonization of the European continent and it has also caused retaliatory actions. Will all these issues be brought up in the consultations at the summit? Or will even urgent issues be excluded from the consultations?

Japan holds a very strong trump card in its hand no matter how these issues are to be settled. That is its strong economic capability. Since Japan possesses this economic capability, Japan's trade partners cannot but continue their dialogue with Japan despite the existence of complicated confrontations. Japan cannot do without either the United States or the EC, and in the same way, the United States and the EC cannot do without Japan due to the need for interdependence in the contemporary world.

Issues Facing Leaders Outlined
PM1607174589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report under the rubric "Abroad": "The Group of Seven in the Louvre Pyramid: Meeting of Leaders of Leading Capitalist Countries Opens in Paris"]

[Text] Paris—The traditional meeting of the heads of state and government of the seven leading capitalist countries—Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, the FRG, France, and Japan—has begun in the special hall under the recently opened Louvre pyramid in Paris at the height of the celebrations marking the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. The G-7 [Group of Seven] meeting was preceded by a series of bilateral talks between its participants and leaders of 25 developing countries who are in the French capital now for the jubilee celebrations.

The agenda of the Paris forum, which is being covered by a record number of over 7,000 journalists, includes such questions as the Third World countries' debt, East-West relations, environmental protection, the situations in China and the Near East, illegal drug trafficking, and the fight against terrorism.

As always at such meetings there is an examination of the international economic situation, which is marked by the tremendous U.S. foreign trade deficit estimated at \$130 billion, and the trade surplus of Japan and the FRG (\$85 billion and \$50 billion respectively).

One of the most acute international problems—a real powder keg which, specialists believe, threatens to destroy the whole world—is the developing countries' debt. On the eve of the conference M. Camdessus, director of the IMF, issued an appeal to the Group of Seven to cancel part of that debt: "That would be the most important contribution by the leading capitalist states to the achievement of international economic equilibrium." France has already taken the first step on that path. President Mitterrand recently announced that Paris is canceling \$2 billion of debt owed by 35 African states. According to reports this example will be followed by Japan, which is going to announce the cancellation of \$600 million of African states' debt. Furthermore, Japan has promised to allocate considerable sums in aid to the developing countries. Thereby it wants to show that it intends to play a significant role in implementing the international strategy of development.

Washington has put forward its own plan for the repayment of the developing countries' debt. Paris has presented its plan—the creation of a joint guarantee fund for the repayment of interest using IMF reserves. In addition to this, France—and its foreign minister R. Dumas has recently stated that it remains the most active defender of the Third World—has proposed a

grandiose project to Bangladesh: the construction of a 2.5 km dam to hold back the waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and end the floods which devastate the country.

The meeting's participants will pay special attention to East-West relations and, in particular, will discuss the results of recent visits by M.S. Gorbachev to France and G. Bush to Poland and Hungary. "In 1989," F. Mitterrand stated in his 14 July address, "the international situation makes it possible to begin a new approach to East-West relations, which are marked by a desire for greater military equilibrium in Europe." For his part the U.S. president noted on the eve of the meeting the need to go beyond the framework of the policy of containment and to establish relations with the Soviet Union radically different from the old relations. Washington is proposing the elaboration of a common stance on the granting of credits to socialist countries. Other capitals believe that each G-7 state should pursue its own policy. But Japan, as the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE notes, is urging the West to adopt a "cautious" approach to the changes occurring in the USSR.

For the first time the G-7 conference will examine a broad range of questions connected with environmental protection. Main attention here will be focused on protection of the ozone layer and the tropical forests and the fight against the pollution of the oceans. The FRG is proposing a reduction in the consumption of oil and coal so as to reduce carbon dioxide discharges into the atmosphere. Japan intends to grant Mexico \$1 billion to clean the air in its capital. France, Italy, and Canada are proposing the creation of a new international environmental organization, but the United States and Britain believe that these questions should be tackled by the existing organizations and that there is no need to swell the "international bureaucracy." The Group of Seven will also issue an appeal to such countries as India, China, and Brazil, which are conducting their own industrialization, to pay special attention to the environment so as to avert potential catastrophes.

Paris wants to use the G-7 meeting and the presence in the capital of 25 leaders of other countries to give impetus to the North-South dialogue but is meeting opposition from its own partners, chiefly Washington and London. The hosts have not even managed to talk them into holding a joint ceremonial banquet with the heads of the developing states and for that reason, the press notes, the "rich" and the "poor" will sit at different tables and in different buildings during the meal.

Nevertheless, the leaders of India, Egypt, Venezuela, and Senegal, representing different regions of the world, have issued a direct appeal to the Group of Seven in Paris to convene a North-South conference on global economic problems and problems of the environment. F. Mitterrand—the only socialist among the seven—has supported this appeal and noted that he will do everything in his power to ensure its implementation. However, the United States immediately expressed a negative attitude to this proposal.

Despite the considerable differences on many problems, it is expected that the present conference will be held in a spirit of agreement and will result in compromises but will put forward no major economic initiatives.

Results of Paris G-7 Economic Summit Reported

4 Draft Resolutions Approved

LD1507122689 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT
15 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 15 TASS—At the Paris talks of the foreign ministers of the world's seven leading capitalist nations, which have run parallel to this summit, four draft resolutions were approved "in principle" to be eventually endorsed by the leaders of the world's mighty seven.

Among the approved documents, the most important one was the resolution on the East-West relations, which provoked most debate during their meeting. Foreign ministers sought to work out a joint approach to the changes under way in the socialist camp. The French media noted that following President George Bush's visit to Poland and Hungary, a mutual understanding was reached between Washington and Bonn concerning the need to support the reforms in East European states and to work out a concerted position of the Western countries. Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany had called upon the partners, even before the meeting of the Seven, to coordinate their efforts in rendering financial and economic assistance to the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. Reporters called the British approach to the process, which is developing in socialist countries, more reserved, but the final text of the East-West resolution was eventually approved also by the British representative.

The other documents, approved by the foreign ministers of the world's seven most developed nations, include resolutions on human rights, the situation in China and the struggle against terrorism. According to the media, the resolution on China envisages no specific actions regarding that country. Japan, for example, spoke in opposition to any action designed to isolate China.

Declaration Targets East-West Ties

LD1507204789 Moscow TASS in English 2019 GMT
15 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 15 TASS—At the morning session of the summit conference of the seven most developed capitalist countries—Great Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, France, West Germany and Japan—and a delegation of the commission of the European Communities, a declaration on East-West relations was endorsed. It welcomes, among other things, the scaling down of military confrontation, ideological antagonism and mistrust in Europe and increased East-West dialogue and cooperation. It welcomes the reforms underway in Eastern Europe.

The document contains a call on the Soviet Union "to translate its new policies and pronouncements into further concrete action at home and abroad". Along with this, the declaration alleges that "military imbalances favoring the Soviet Union, both in Europe and in Asia, remain an objective threat" to each of the seven countries which makes it necessary for their governments to "continue to be vigilant". "For the foreseeable future, there is no alternative for each of us, within existing alliances, to maintaining a strategy of deterrence based upon an appropriate mix of adequate and effective nuclear and conventional forces," the declaration states. At the same time the seven nations point out the need for "the urgent pursuit of a global ban on chemical weapons, a conventional forces balance in Europe at the lowest possible level, and a substantial reduction in Soviet and American strategic nuclear arms".

The declaration states the readiness of the West for "balanced economic cooperation on a sound commercial basis", and offers economic assistance to reforms underway in East European countries, especially in Poland and Hungary. The summit participants called for a meeting with all interested countries in the next few weeks.

The declaration also underlines that there are "good opportunities for the countries of West and East to work together to find solutions to conflicts around the world, to fight under-development, to safeguard the resources and the environment and to build a freer and more open world".

Economic Declaration Approved

LD1607203389 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT
16 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 16 TASS—The 15th annual summit meeting of the seven industrialised capitalist countries ended today with the adoption of an economic declaration in Arche de la Defense near Paris. It is considered the final document of the forum which was attended by the leaders of Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, France, West Germany and Japan, as well as a delegation of the European Communities' Commission. French President Francois Mitterrand presented journalists the declaration as chairman of the this summit.

This meeting means the start of a new stage in the activities of the seven, says the document. Under the conditions of the present international situation, it is necessary to resolve three main tasks: to maintain balanced growth rates and to counter inflation, to integrate the developing countries in the world economy, tackling the problems of their foreign debts and poverty, and to take urgent measures to protect the environment on the world-wide scale.

The seven pointed to the importance of continuing close cooperation between the developed nations in the financial and economic sphere, paying attention to the containment of rearing inflation and to cuts in budgetary and

trade disbalances. The summit confirmed previous agreements on control over exchange rates of key currencies and was against protectionism in international trade.

Summit participants did not offer any radical measures to wipe out huge foreign debts of developing countries. They only called on these countries to implement "sound economic policies" which, in their opinion, will create favourable conditions for investments and economic growth. The declaration does not mention the holding of an international North-South conference in the near future. The Western press wrote much about it in the eve of the Paris summit, describing the conference as a prestigious forum for settling burning problems of debts. The authors of the document called on creditor states in general terms to continue the policy for writing off a part of debts of the poorest countries. They pointed out at the same time that the problem of debts faces serious difficulties which should be overcome in future.

The seven discussed for the first time ecological problems which, according to the forum participants, provoke general concern. It is necessary to take urgent measures to preserve natural balances, the declaration says. They should include prevention of environmental pollution, reduction in the volume of toxic waste, energy-saving measures and propagation of ecologically clean technologies, including those in agriculture.

The seven called for stopping the use of freons by the end of the 20th century, since they cause destruction of the earth's ozone layer, reduction in emission of carbon dioxide, sustainable forest management practices and an end to uncontrollable use of oceans for dumping toxic waste. The summit backed Italy's idea to hold an international forum on ecological law in 1990 and recommended that U.N. bodies engaged in nature protection work be strengthened.

Several measures were drafted to control international drug trafficking.

The document points out that the next summit meeting will be held in the United States.

The problem of East-West relations occupied a focal place in the work of the summit meeting, though this question was not officially put on its agenda. This theme also prevailed at the concluding news conference which was arranged by President Mitterrand after the end of meetings today.

Replying to TASS and IZVESTIYA correspondents, he said that the summit did not change radically relations between the Soviet Union and the G-7 [Group of Seven] countries, since it was not its aim.

The G-7 countries wish success to the processes of democratisation in the USSR, note the bold nature of these reforms and are ready to promote them within their powers, he went on to say. The countries that gathered in Paris, are ready to develop relations with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, the French president said further on, plays a great role in the world and is one of the two most powerful states militarily. He added that he was following with interest changes taking place in the USSR. Mitterrand did not preclude a change that a day would come when the Soviet Union would participate in such summits. There are no obstacles of principle to increasing the composition of their participants.

Petrovskiy Praises Outcome

*AU1707142489 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow, July 17 (AFP)—The Group of Seven economic summit in Paris had achieved "very important" results, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said here Monday.

Delegates "welcomed with great attention" the letter Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev directed to the three-day summit, which ended Sunday [16 July], he said.

The letter had proposed greater Soviet participation in the industrial powers' efforts in world economic issues.

Calling attention to "the interest the seven had shown in the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the West and socialist countries", Mr. Petrovskiy said the summit was a "new step in the construction of a world macro-economy" and an "important step for international world security".

Petrovskiy, Gerasimov Brief Press

*LD1707154289 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—In conditions of growing interdependence the objective process of forming an integral world economy calls for reaching out a qualitatively new level of multilateral economic partnership, Vladimir Petrovskiy, Soviet deputy foreign minister, said today. It is from these positions that the Soviet Union observes the efforts by the seven leading industrial nations of the West to foster the coordination of the macroeconomic policy.

At a news briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today, Petrovskiy informed journalists about the content of the message which Mikhail Gorbachev sent to the participants in the 15th annual economic conference of the leaders of seven Western states.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told the briefing that three documents are planned to be signed within the framework of the visit of Raul Manglapus, secretary for foreign affairs of the Republic of the Philippines, to the USSR. These are a programme of cultural exchange for 1989-1990, agreement on economic and technical cooperation and agreement on setting up an intergovernmental Soviet-Philippine commission on trade and economic cooperation. The sides will also sign a memorandum on the sides' intentions to exchange immovable property. Raul Manglapus will give a news conference on the results of talks in the USSR and the visit to Leningrad.

Responding to a question on the situation in Abkhazia, an autonomous republic within Georgia, where clashes have erupted recently between representatives of the Georgian and Abkhazian nationalities, which claimed human casualties, Gerasimov noted that the situation remains complex there although there are no mass unrest and clashes there at present. A tendency toward stabilization has shaped. Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, other leaders of the republic and also senior officials of law enforcement bodies are in Abkhazia now. Together with Abkhazian leaders they take necessary measures to normalize the situation.

Concerning the situation in Afghanistan, Gerasimov drew journalists' attention to the reports that the armed opposition is preparing for an escalation of combat operations. There is information about the opposition's preparations, with an extensive assistance of Pakistan and the United States, for an offensive on Qandahar and Jalalabad.

The Pakistani democratic committee, a U.S. public organization, conveyed through the USSR's Embassy in Washington a letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, Gerasimov said. The message expresses firm support for a political settlement in Afghanistan on the basis of a democratic, non-violent and just solution of the Afghan conflict. The letter is supplemented with a six-point project containing specific measures to achieve settlement.

Petrovskiy on Gorbachev Letter

*LD1807124989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 18 Jul 89*

[Text] [Announcer] A briefing on topical issues in international politics was held in Moscow. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, spoke to Soviet and foreign journalists. He said in particular:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has sent a message to the participants in the 15th annual economic conference of the seven leading industrial countries. Quite naturally, this message has aroused a great response in the world, since it is a matter of world economic problems which affect all countries without

exception. We believe that through coordination it is possible to make world economic processes more predictable and this is an important prerequisite for ensuring international economic security.

Just like all other countries, the Soviet Union is tackling the task of adapting its national economy to the new structure of the international division of labor that is taking shape. Our restructuring cannot be separated from the course toward full-fledged participation in the world economy which was confirmed by the first Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

No few contradictions continue to remain in the sphere of international economic relations. Nevertheless, and I would like to stress this in particular, the area of common and overlapping interests of states is quite considerable and can serve as a basis for joint actions. A first step could be an accord on a methodology, acceptable to all states and universally applicable, and the harmonization of economic processes. In the long term, we could be talking also about a search for methods for joining together different mechanisms of macro-economic coordination on a global scale.

The Soviet leader stressed in his message the willingness of the USSR to begin a dialogue on these matters, starting with professional contacts in various fields and with the exchange of information. Such an approach underlines the businesslike and substantive nature of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message to the leader of the seven. [end recording]

Gorbachev's Message 'Positive'

*LD1707112389 Moscow World Service in English
2100 GMT 16 Jul 89*

[Text] The annual meeting of the leaders of the seven most developed capitalist countries ended in Paris on Sunday. In the final document the leaders of Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, France, West Germany, and Japan called for further efforts to streamline world economy and finances and censured protectionism in trade. The seven stressed the need for urgent anti-pollution measures and outlined concrete steps against international drug trafficking.

Our correspondent reports that President Gorbachev's letter to President Mitterrand, the chairman of the conference, became a real sensation at the meeting. The Soviet leader shared some ideas about the key problems of world economy. The ideas of the letter, addressed to such a conference for the first time, were assessed as positive and constructive.

The French foreign minister, Roland Dumas, has described them as a major factor of East-West detente and rapprochement.

Pogodin Sees 'New Political Thinking'
*LD1807135889 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 18 Jul 89*

[Text] In his message to the Paris conference of the leaders of the seven industrialized capitalist countries Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union stands for businesslike, bias-free cooperation to solve the problems of world economic development for the good of every nation.

The Soviet president's initiative, writes our commentator Aleksandr Pogodin, is aimed at further affirming the principles of new political thinking in international relations. Some of the principles are to reject the worn out stereotypes, to overcome alienation and distrust and to look for ways to get closer to one another, for understanding, for equal cooperation in various fields. That naturally applies to the full extent to the economy. In view of the fast development of integration tendencies in various parts of the world Mikhail Gorbachev proposed in his message to jointly direct the tendencies toward universal partnership.

The Soviet Union also sees points of contact in the approaches of the sides to settling the foreign debt of third world nations, to promoting collective aid, to development and to coordination of actions by the creditors and debtors.

In their statements after the Paris summit, Western leaders noted that they had scrutinized the ideas of the Soviet leader about new approaches to economic, political, and cultural ties between the East and West. According to the French Minister for External Affairs Roland Dumas this message can become a decisive element in the policy of detente and rapprochement between East and West. The United States President, George Bush, ending his European tour with a visit to the Netherlands, said on Monday [17 July] that the Soviet leader's proposals concerning expanding economic cooperation were a model of striving for closer relations between East and West.

Of course there remain quite a few serious contradictions in international economic and political relations. This had its effect on the declaration of the leaders of the seven industrialized capitalist countries. Along with sound ideas about developing East-West ties and overcoming the split between East and West the declaration contains points couched in the spirit of the past and actually aimed at maintaining the split. Getting rid of stereotypes, writes Aleksandr Pogodin in conclusion, is not a simple process but as recent experience shows new things are becoming firmer in international relations. Of course for the sake of this it is necessary to have constant effort by all the sides. Mikhail Gorbachev's message to the leaders of the Big Seven is a new important step along this direction.

FRG Bundestag Member Criticizes Summit
*LD1707072589 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Bonn July 17 TASS—The title of the song "Don't Worry, Be Happy" reflects in the best possible way the mood at the summit meeting of seven leading capitalist countries in Paris, says a statement of Wolfgang Roth, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Group in the West German Bundestag, which was circulated here today.

The meeting did not advance a solution of any of the problems facing the world economy today. Its participants did not find a way to resolve the developing countries' foreign debt problem, or the global environmental protection problem either.

The meeting left unanswered the question of how to achieve stability of the world economy. The present level of economic growth rates looks fragile, while economic prospects, primarily in the United States, are vague. None of the state leaders had enough courage to propose some new way of balancing world trade, Roth pointed out.

He criticised the stand of the West German Government which, in his opinion, did not play an active enough part and did not make West Germany a stabilising factor of the world economy. On the whole, the Paris meeting freed us of yet another illusion, Roth stated.

Correspondent Assesses Paris Meeting
*LD1607171389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 16 Jul 89*

[Report by Correspondent Oleg Maksimenko in Paris—recorded]

[Text] The final meeting [of the Group of Seven] took place in Defense, a business area very near Paris in an ultra modern arch built in honor of the 200th anniversary of the French revolution. The heads of state and government of the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Japan, and Canada signed documents. The assessment which they make of relations between East and West is of undoubted interest. Members of the seven, recognizing the great changes taking place in socialist countries, have stated the need to formulate unified approaches on questions of further developing various forms of cooperation with them, including economic cooperation.

The documents also reflect such questions as human rights, the situation in China, protecting the environment, and several other matters. Special mention should be made of the debt problem of developing countries. Prior to the start of the meeting it was down on the agenda as one of the main issues. And that is understandable. The debt of the developing countries has reached astronomical sums. This is a most acute issue.

It was no mere coincidence that as a counter balance to the meeting of the seven richest capitalist countries in the world another meeting took place in Paris, a meeting of the seven poorest countries which were represented by nongovernmental organizations. Those taking part in this alternative meeting drew attention to the fact that their poverty is explained by the flagrant inequality established between the industrially developed capitalist countries and the developing world.

Did the summit meeting of the seven answer the question of how to get out of the situation which has come about and establish a more just economic order in the world? I don't think so. In any case that is indicated by the fairly general nature of the statements made by members of the seven regarding this painful question.

What are the general impressions of their 15th summit? Primarily I would like to say that it ended several hours earlier than scheduled. Some see that as indicating success while others interpret it as revealing aggravation in the contradictions discovered during the meeting between France and Britain. Opposing approaches on several other issues were discovered. For example Japan opposed the use of economic sanctions against China. One could cite other similar examples.

But having said all that it should be noted that the leading capitalist powers are increasingly facing up to the realities of the modern world. That is indicated by their changing approach to problems of East-West relations. And this circumstance can only be recognized as positive.

Gerasimov Reiterates Call for Nuclear Test Ban
LD1707173389 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—The Soviet Union regards ending and complete prohibition of nuclear tests as an efficient measure, capable of stopping the qualitative nuclear arms race and preventing the emergence of new and more destructive types of nuclear weapons, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

He said that the Soviet public and parliamentarians are more insistent, of late, in demanding specific measures in this field. Speaking at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on July 14, Deputy Olzhas Suleymenov proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet make an appeal to the U.S. Congress to impose a nuclear test moratorium on a mutual basis.

The USSR takes specific steps to limit nuclear tests in line with the adopted concept of reasonable sufficiency, said Gerasimov. This year the Soviet programme of nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk testing ground was reshaped to cut the number of explosions and to decrease their yields. Tests were not staged at the Semipalatinsk testing ground for nearly five months. The fourth explosion this year was set off on July 8.

Efforts of a single state are not enough to ban nuclear tests, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out. "We see several approaches to this problem," Gerasimov said. Firstly, the USSR is ready to return to the moratorium at any time on the basis of reciprocity with the United States. We hope that the appeal by the USSR Supreme Soviet to the U.S. Congress will contribute to its earliest implementation. Secondly, we believe that it is high time to pull out the work of the disarmament conference out of the procedural deadlock and to start there the specific discussion of the problem of general prohibition of nuclear tests. Thirdly, we regard a chance of spreading the operation of the 1963 treaty to underground explosions as a possible way of achieving this ban. The treaty is known to prohibit nuclear tests in three spheres.

Last but not least, we intend to move actively to the declared end goal of the Soviet-American nuclear test talks in Geneva—the complete termination of testing."

Officials Meet With UNESCO Director
LD1807084889 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Violin music accompanying, by tradition, the act of awarding the diploma of honorary doctor at Moscow University, sounded on July 17 in honour of UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor Zaragoza. He stays in our country on an official visit. Academician Anatoliy Logunov, university rector, and other members of the learned council who gathered for the gala meeting, pointed to a considerable contribution of the foreign guest to the development of biology and strengthening of international scientific and cultural cooperation. It was pointed out that Mayor happily combined the qualities of a brilliant scientist, experienced politician and a prominent international leader. Receiving the diploma and the medal, Federico Mayor said that his activities will be devoted, in future too, to the advocacy of the ideals of peace and to the development of interaction between nations for the good of progress. Solidarity of people throughout the world is necessary, since all of them are destined to live together on the earth, he said.

During a meeting with Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which was attended by prominent Soviet scientists, much attention was given to the contribution of the Soviet scientific potential to the implementation of UNESCO programmes, ways and means of expanding contacts between the USSR Academy of Sciences and UNESCO.

The UNESCO director-general visited the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science. Its chairman Boris Tolstykh and Federico

Mayor signed an agreement on cooperation between the committee and UNESCO in informatics.

Regular Vienna-Moscow-Tokyo Air Route Opened
LD1607172789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1202 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Vienna, 16 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov reports: The opening of the direct and regular Vienna-Moscow-Tokyo airlink is an important step on the path of developing broad international cooperation.

The first airliner of the Austrian airline company "Austrian Airways" took off today on this route from Vienna's Schwechat Airport. The flights, lasting a little over 12 hours, will take place twice a week.

The opening of the new air route is the result of the cooperation of three airline companies: Austrian Airlines, Aeroflot, and the Japanese All Nippon Airways, cooperation which is without comparison in world practice. The Soviet side provides the shortest air route over the territory of the USSR and guarantees fueling and servicing of planes in Moscow. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Secretary Baker's Asian Visit Viewed
OW0907062889 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia
1300 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Nikolayev commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, will travel to Japan and Brunei in early July. He is scheduled to meet with the foreign ministers of the six ASEAN member nations in Brunei, where an annual meeting of the latter will be held. The following is a commentary by station commentator Nikolayev on this matter.

What political baggage will the U.S. secretary of state take with him on his trip to Asia? I think one will have a rough idea of the answer to this question from his talk to representatives of the research center of the Asia Society in New York on 26 June. While explaining the views held by the U.S. authorities toward the situation in Asia, the U.S. secretary of state emphatically pointed out the U.S. intention to give play to its decisive role with regard to a new order in the [words indistinct] regions. Does this mean that we will witness a change in Washington's stand toward Asian issues in the near future? Personally, I take a skeptical attitude toward this prospect. This is because, as we can see from the speech by the U.S. secretary of state, Washington regards maintaining the old order as the basis for a new order, namely, strengthening the military presence of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region. Baker stressed the necessity of U.S. military presence in the region, as before. I think various kinds of strange talk will, as a matter of fact, make the constructive attitude taken by the United States toward Asian affairs come to naught. At least, this will be so for the time being. Of course, it cannot but vex us.

We must be aware that the hope placed by the United States on military strength is obviously contrary to the sentiments prevailing in every country in the Asia-Pacific region. People there wish to employ political means to strengthen security and stability, reduce the level of military confrontation, and reduce the threat of war. Even in the countries of the Pacific that have established close military and political alliance with the United States, people have come to sense more and more clearly the urgent necessity of taking this kind of attitude. For example, while analyzing the international situation in Washington recently, Hawke, the prime minister of Australia, which is a member of the Australia-New Zealand-U.S. defense pact and an ally of the United States, came to the conclusion that a [words indistinct] possibility has now emerged for achieving positive results with regard to the most important issue concerning peace and security. Hawke said: Today, it is possible for the West to transcend the conventional defense concepts, which are [words indistinct] in this century and it should take advantage of this possibility to gain more lasting and more stable security.

Judging from all indications, we may say that the people in Washington are still not prepared to revise their own Asian policy in earnest. At least, we cannot sense any such change at all from the views explained by U.S. Secretary of State Baker toward the situation in Asia. In its foreign policy, the United States still attaches importance to consolidating its special position in the Asia-Pacific Region by relying on strengthened military presence there. It may very likely signify the maintenance of the old attitude of confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region instead of the establishment of a new order.

U.S. Not Ruling Out Military Option in Panama
LD1307112889 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT
13 Jul 89

[Text] Panama City July 13 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Chernov:

When touring American military bases in Honduras, American General Fred F. Woerner, the commander of the U.S. Southern Command, said the United States had military options at its disposal to resolve the problems in Panama.

The general remarked that he would not regard an armed action against Panama as something real but at the same time he emphasized that the political and economic situation in Panama through its unpredictability was causing serious concern among U.S. servicemen.

It is noteworthy that at the end of last week, another high-ranking officer of the Southern Command, Mark Cisneros, who was recently placed at the head of the U.S. land forces in Panama, told journalists with disarming frankness he was prepared to do away with the Panamanian people if such an order comes from the U.S. President.

These pronouncements have given rise to serious concern here. In the opinion of a political analyst of the newspaper ULLTIMAS NOTICIAS, such coincidence is not fortuitous.

It was precisely on an order from Woerner and Cisneros that U.S. Army units carried out a number of hostile actions in the populated areas of Chilibre, Gamboa, Fort Amador, as well as near the military bases of the national defence forces recently. It is not ruled out, the article in the newspaper said, that Washington is preparing for an armed intervention against the republic.

Affects of 1987 Embassy 'Spy Scandal' Discussed
PM1007142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Made Fools of Themselves"]

[Text] New York—After wasting more than 2 years and tens of millions of dollars, Washington has "not come up with anything," according to the weekly TIME. What

exactly was it looking for? U.S. intelligence and counter-intelligence services have been seeking direct proof that the U.S. Embassy in Moscow has been the object of "technological infiltration" by the KGB.

If the reader remembers, at the very beginning of 1987, a scandal broke in Washington which the Western press described as the "great Marine spy scandal" and which Caspar Weinberger, secretary of defense at that time, christened the "worst spy scandal of the century." The crux of the affair, as presented by the American side at the time, was that Marines supposed to guard the U.S. Embassy in Moscow made a deal with the KGB and gave members of the latter access to what is most sacred to any embassy—the code room. As a result, KGB agents readjusted the coding equipment in such a way as to ensure that all secret communications sent to Washington were automatically copied—you know for whom.

The scandal was indeed an excellent one. As TIME emphasized: "Paralysis and paranoia broke out. Electronic communications between the embassy and Washington were terminated. Tons of equipment were dismantled and sent to America for expert analysis. Arthur Hartman, who was the U.S. ambassador to Moscow at the time and had a distinguished career behind him, left the service in disgrace. Hundreds of Marines serving at U.S. Embassies in Eastern bloc countries were interrogated by naval intelligence service agents."

And now—the conclusion: There is no evidence to corroborate the story of KGB intrigue. Actually, this conclusion was reached quite some time ago. According to TIME, "one top secret document prepared by the intelligence community and sent to the appropriate government departments several months ago directly states that there is no reliable evidence of infiltration of the embassy code room." This conclusion was based, in particular, on the scrupulous examination to which the electronic equipment taken from the embassy at the time had been subjected in the laboratories of the CIA and the National Security Agency.

Now TIME is asking a question which sounds very much to the point: Why did this scandal arise at all? And, the parallel question: Who needed and profited by it? The story offered by the weekly is that everything would possibly have turned out differently if it had not been for the bitter interdepartmental wrangling, one example of which occurred in the early eighties, when the FBI did its utmost to reduce the number of Soviet diplomats in the United States. The State Department, the journal wrote, was opposed to this FBI initiative, citing, in particular, the fact that Moscow would in that case reduce the number of Soviet employees working in the embassy in Moscow (that is, in fact, what happened, by the way). By 1985, TIME continued, there was a real war between Arthur Hartman and security officials in Washington. The scandal with the Marines appeared to serve as confirmation that the security services were right.

That was 2 years and tens of millions of dollars ago....

Deceased Spy Glenn Souther Profiled

18001323 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 89
Second Edition p 6

[Article by V. Chertkov: "I Just Tried To Understand Him"]

[Text] *Everyone has his own path. And who is to decide whether it will be long or short?*

He committed suicide. Consciousness slowly dissolved—death came, like a trial. Light and shadow. The clouds, having barely let the sun peak through, came in the way again and cut it off from us. The bright spot under foot gives way to a rapidly approaching grayness. Adults are also running after a spot of light. How nice it is to hold it in your hand, a bright, warm little spot. But it will not sit there long: a second—and then it is just like sand sifting through your fingers.... Perhaps your daughter will catch it on her fist. A reflection from a mirror, large or small—does it make any difference? Man will always follow it. This is perhaps the only thing that remains with us from childhood. The little spot of light that joins the past and the present. Light. And again shadow, not in half tones—dense....

I do not know what he was thinking about during the last moments of his life—32-year-old Glenn Michael Souther. It was Michael and not Major of the Committee for State Security Mikhail Yevgenyevich Orlov. Because this was his real name—Michael; incidentally, for this person everything was real—both the former and the latter. He made his choice out of conviction. People become strong in their belief. If necessary, they will run into the fire. And who said that a self-willed departure from life is the lot of the weak? They grumble that their nerves are taut, it is unbearable, or they show their suffering for everyone to see—the farther they are away, the better. But it is impossible to hide all the time. If you go in through a door you must come out through it. And when you go around a corner, sneaking around it, can you stay there by yourself and get rid of the stress that has built up during incredible work?

They say that Michael was a good intelligence worker. This forward movement is so indomitable in some people. It is a good thing to stop and look around, but what do you do if your brain hurries forward, irrepressibly, no, obviously, knowing how much time you have left. And I look and look for an answer. He left, abandoned his homeland where his mother and father are. Forward—"and no nails." His beloved Mayakovskiy, wrenching his soul. I saw on the screen—a clod, he pushes anyone aside, now as the sun, now as a cloud on the stage... A man, a personality. And his verses! Just like bricks—shlep, shlep, held together by strong mortar, they fit into their form—time will not move them. And his voice! A puff of cigarette smoke. He shrugged his shoulder powerfully. This will not give way—look how he molds the lines. He is phenomenal, a messiah. He

descended to people, invested them with a depth of soul, the power of their reason and hearts, foreordained this for you, and then left. A shot rang out.

He was brought up in a religious environment and was drawn to the church. Perhaps he would have found himself there were he not a vulnerable, extremely vulnerable person. In his presence on one occasion a clergyman failed to react to a person's pain, and this occasion was forever etched in his memory. "Seek your own justice": The idea turned in Glenn's mind. "And what if it is different for each person?"

"But why Mikhail, Yevgenyevich, Orlov? Where did that come from?"—I asked his friend who came to the editorial offices 3 days after Mikhail's burial, still shaken by what had happened.

"Michael is Mikhail. Eugene (Yevgeniy) was his father. An eagle [orel] is a symbol of freedom and power. The first name, patronymic, and last name—he thought of them all himself. He was always himself. We were not the ones who dragged him into our affairs.

He could have lived comfortably, Glen Souther, working for us there in the States. But he lived on 200-300 dollars a month as a reservist. He worked at one of the largest bases of the U.S. Navy where he processed space research materials. At the same time he was studying at Old Dominion University in Norfolk. He liked books about Mayakovskiy and had a passion for photography. He would walk around with a camera for hours, looking for contrasts of light and shadow. These contrasts that rained down upon man attracted him as a constant refraction of the world. The shutter of his camera was constantly working. One could only envy his collection of negatives. His hobby required money and he would earn it on the side sometimes sitting with sick people, sometimes as a hospital attendant.

Glenn Souther acquired the specialty of a military photographer. He served in the Navy where for a long time he worked with various kinds of intelligence photographs. Additionally, for some time he was also the personal photographer for the commander of the U.S. 5th Fleet and his authorized representative in relations with the public and the press. Even at that time his choice had been made.

The 6th Fleet...A school of sharks, God help us get by them! It roamed the sea. Nuclear warheads attached to its belly. It makes some people's skin crawl. Glenn undertook everything and still averted danger or at least reduced it to a minimum. He had access to the most valuable documents that revealed the plans of the U.S. Navy in a nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The appearance of the aircraft carrier Nimitz on the horizon boded no good. Serving on it as on the flagships Albany and Puget Sound, which also had atomic weapons, Glen imagined what would happen if... We can do anything as long as nobody dares

to cross us. This idea sneaked into his mind, and a force imprisoned in armor.... He feared this "if." Everything is allowed. We shall bomb Tripoli. And right there next to the target is the building of the French embassy; after all, it could suffer too. An expert who drew attention to this heard in response:

"That is none of your business; the French can take anything. They went through Hanoi so this is nothing new to them."

Cynicism like a bare high-voltage wire. This hit Glenn hard even from a distance. Later he himself came across a similar conversation when he was given an assignment to photograph some military objects in the Egyptian port of Alexandria.

"The Egyptians have just begun to trust us, and it will be bad if they catch me doing this."

"Nonsense," replied the officer on duty, "we will rescue you and the Israelis will be very appreciative of what you do."

They, too, are really crazy. If they are not restrained.... So many "ifs" of all kinds. But he envisioned a unity of all people on the planet, joined tight together. He wanted to straighten everything out; his aim was always to help. He did not want to break the thread that was sticking out of the large ball. He wanted to grab on to it in order to understand where it went and how to unwind it. To comprehend strategic thinking and, God, to penetrate into others' thoughts. If only he could prevent the attack. He was a child of man who had learned a terrible secret. The disturbing melody of the Leningrad Symphony floated through his mind; I do not know if Glenn knew it at the time, but his music of the blockade city lived in him, he could feel its pain, and, perhaps, this is why he later grew to love Shostakovich so much. The revealed truth. Neutralizing the dangerous plans was the most important thing in Glenn Michael Souther's life, and he would do anything to help the forces of peace. He took his place in the pleiad of Cheka intelligence gatherers, which also included such outstanding warriors of the "invisible front" as Kim Philby and George Blake. If no atomic bombs fell on Soviet cities we can thank those who gathered the most valuable information that contributed to strengthening our defense.

Many times Glenn was present at operations meetings where officers calmly discussed plans for the use, say, of two or three atomic bombs in order to strike fear into the enemy. They would move their fingers along the map earmarking attacks as though with a soup spoon on their own table cloth. No nerves would hold up under this. He took himself in hand and his brain registered everything he heard, compared details, and sorted out what was important. Somewhere there within himself there was a door that could not be penetrated by another's gaze

beyond which lay the holy of holies, that which is usually stored in armored safes hidden away beyond the labyrinths of corridors with armed guards.

Peace does not come so easily. KGB intelligence has been in existence for many decades but in former times of extreme secrecy no mention was ever made of it. The simple person could only guess at how and to whom Kim Philby and George Blake turned over the most important intelligence information. There are, of course, things which remain state secrets but the people must know the main thing—the role of KGB intelligence officers in providing for state security and eliminating the threat of nuclear war. The intelligence gatherer Mikhail Yevgenyevich Orlov or Glenn Michael Souther, as with a scalpel, removed the dangerous tumors from international relations. He is both a surgeon and a pioneer. One poorly thought-out decision, one false step... And now not only his work but his life was on the line. He was walking on a razor's edge.

"Did he have failures?"

"He worked a lot," said Glenn's friend. "People were aware of his depressions but nobody thought about the tragic outcome. Apparently everything figured in: FBI agents thronged around his family in the United States and he always kept in mind, as though it were a shared destiny, how his beloved Mayakovskiy ended his life.

Having returned to the states after his service in the Navy, Glenn studied the Russian language and gathered valuable intelligence information. But the FBI called him in and demanded information about one of his colleagues. This put him on his guard, although there was no cause for serious alarm.

"But after we weighed all the circumstances and read all the variants together," Glenn's friend said, "he agreed that still there was a danger. He decided to leave the United States."

From quite recent times his memory conjured up a spider's cross inscribed on a map of the Soviet Union in the Russian language classroom. And in addition to the fascist swastika and the mushroom-shaped cloud of a nuclear explosion there were these words:

"Worker!...

"In you fear and loathing are growing

"This maelstrom of the unwashed."

The rapid rush of the runway. As soon as the plane takes off comes that moment when a person feels in his chest that almost excruciating pain of departing forever from one's homeland. What lies ahead, there beyond the horizon? It is good if the soul is not empty and hopes live in it, those same hopes that lead across sufferings and keep you on your feet for the sake of a lofty dream.

Of course when Glenn ended up on Soviet soil in 1986 he did not find exactly that of which he dreamed. For example, he could never figure out how a person could go into a store and not find the thing he needed. But he was not wrong about the main thing: He felt the warmth of the Soviet people and saw their desire for international unity, which corresponded to his ideals.

He wrote to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "In the first place, having served 10 years in the U.S. Navy, I can state with good authority that the U.S. government will never do anything out of sincere and honest convictions to establish peace on earth until it is absolutely sure of its military superiority..."

"The second political consideration that motivated me to leave America and apply for Soviet citizenship is that the United States is negligent toward the destinies of other nations. A lack of respect for other nations is a matter of U.S. state policy. I could never understand why the people of my country are prejudiced against other countries, peoples, and culture. This pertains especially to the Soviet Union..."

"Having come to know Soviet people I am increasingly convinced that one of the main goals of their life to pursue their desire for peace. I, like all citizens of the USSR, share this desire.

"I ask that Soviet citizenship be granted to me also because I am convinced that the system of collectivism is reasonable.

"All my friends and relatives can confirm that I love Mayakovskiy very much. I hope the day will come when I am able to read his 'Verses About My Soviet Passport' and apply them fully to myself."

This declaration was written 3 years ago. And not—death, and I am reading other lines. He left several letters behind. To his friends and relatives. The longest was to his colleagues: "Justice demands that you hear my last words. I am not sorry about our relationship. Our relationship was long and it helped me to grow as an individual. I want to be buried in the uniform of a KGB officer."

His mother and father came from the United States to pay their respects. Here he has a wife and a 1-year-old daughter. A man with a deep and complex soul has left this life. I have just tried to understand him—nothing more.

Yes, I almost forgot. He asked:

"Just call me Misha."

Soviet Chemical Weapons Experts Arrive in Canada
*LD1707121489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0205 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[Text] Ottawa, 17 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Anatoliy Lazarev reports: Soviet experts on chemical weapons arrived in Canada on Sunday. General R.F. Batsanov is leading the 10-member group.

As Captain Don Roy, a representative of the Canadian Ministry of National Defense told a TASS correspondent: "The visit is taking place on an invitation sent to the government of the USSR at the beginning of this year by Henry Perrin Beatty who was the minister at that time. The main item on the program for the visit by the Soviet experts in the country," he continued, "is a visit to the National Defense Research Center in Suffield (Alberta Province)." Chemical defense systems are developed there and personnel undergo training. "As well as that," said Roy, "there will be an exchange of opinions between specialists from the USSR and staff at the center concerning in particular technical data on the process of eliminating chemical weapons and connected measures to protect the environment." In a brief press statement National Defense Minister William McKnight stressed: "The visit by Soviet experts to the Canadian research center is occurring within the framework of our active adherence to achieving a global ban on chemical weapons."

"This visit," said Colonel V.K. Solovyev, a member of the group of experts, to a TASS correspondent, "will make it possible for us to exchange experience in the given sphere. The group will have the opportunity to look at the work of Canadian specialists and compare it with what we are doing back home. The question of environmental protection is of particular importance. We want to see what they do about it in Canada and what specific steps they are taking." As he put it, permanent ties with the Canadian side would be welcome. "On the whole such contact," stressed Solovyev, "would benefit both our countries as a confidence-building measure and the whole world too. And that in itself is a step, albeit a small one, along the road to concluding a treaty on a complete and universal ban on chemical weapons."

China

PRC Science-Technology Exhibit Opens in Moscow

Li Peng Message Read
*OW1607083389 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0200 GMT 15 Jul 89*

[Excerpts] Listener friends, a Chinese scientific-technological exhibit has opened in Moscow on 14 July and will end on 23 July. A government delegation headed by Song Jian, vice premier of the Chinese State Council and minister in charge of the State Science and Technology Commission, has arrived in the Soviet Union to attend

the science and technology exhibit. The following is an on-the-spot report by our station reporter on the opening of the Chinese science and technology exhibit:

The science and technology exhibit is held at the USSR's National Economy Exhibition Hall. [passage omitted] Song Jian declares the opening of the Chinese science and technology day exhibit. The congratulatory message from Li Peng, premier of the Chinese State Council, is read at the opening ceremony: On the occasion of the opening of the Chinese science and technology day in Moscow, on behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, I extend a warm welcome and high tribute to the Soviet audience attending the Chinese science and technology day activities. The holding of this exhibit in the capital of your country will enable the people of the Soviet Union to understand the scientific and technological progress China has made and the achievements it has scored in restructuring the management of science and technology since it began reform and opening to the outside world. I believe the exhibit will help increase mutual understanding and promote scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries and will bring benefit to the peoples of the two countries. The Chinese people value their friendship with the Soviet people and are interested in the Soviet Union's socialist construction and reforms. I wish the Chinese science and technology day complete success. [signed] Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China [date] 14 July 1989

Lavelov, chairman of the Soviet State Science and Technology Commission, delivers a congratulatory speech on behalf of the Soviet Government. [Lavelov—in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] Lavelov says that the tremendous economic achievements scored by the People's Republic of China [PRC] in the past 10 years are known to all. The achievements have won people's love and respect for the industrious and wise Chinese people. The PRC's experience in economic reform has attracted the attention of the Soviet Union and the whole world. Lavelov expresses the hope that professional relations between experts of the two countries will be further developed during the Chinese exhibit. He also hopes that the concrete orientation for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between the two countries will be determined, too.

Lavelov stresses that such an orientation will assist scientists and experts in realizing the agreements concluded by the leaders of the two countries.

Song Jiang cuts the ribbon at the opening ceremony and the guests of honor are invited to view the exhibit.

Song Jian Cited
*LD1807084189 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Leningrad July 17 TASS—Mutual determination to take concrete steps to restore fully contacts between the USSR and China in scientific and technical cooperation was expressed by both sides in the Leningrad town

hall at a meeting with a Chinese Government delegation. It stays in our country in connection with Chinese days of science and technology in the USSR. The guests arrived in Leningrad from Moscow on Sunday [16 July] evening.

Leningrad Deputy Mayor Vasilii Rogovtsev said that the city has great opportunities to be a reliable partner. "Leningrad concentrates advanced industries, has a major centre of the Soviet Academy of Sciences which coordinates the operation of some 700 research institutions, laboratories, design offices, scientific and production and inter-state amalgamations. This potential enables Leningraders to tackle successfully scientific and technological problems in priority areas," Rogovtsev said. "As for bilateral relations, they are based on friendship with Shanghai, Leningrad's twin city."

Song Jian, member of the Chinese State Council and minister in charge of the state scientific and technological commission, leading the delegation, said of [as received] the Chinese readiness to help saturate the Soviet domestic market with goods. The minister said that as soon as the two sides resolve the question of settlements, the two countries can set up at least 10 joint ventures. Soviet leading firms have broad contacts with China, Song Jian said. Therefore, the development of scientific and technical cooperation conforms to mutual interests. Soviet leader Gorbachev's visit to China opened favourable opportunities for this. The delegation regards his visit historic, since it created new prerequisites for expansion of Chinese-Soviet relations. The aim of the trip to Leningrad is to establish such contacts, noted the minister.

Chinese guests visited the same day the physics and technological institute named after Abram Ioffe which develops a broad range of scientific questions from electronics to thermonuclear synthesis as well as the Institute of Informatics and Automation of the USSR Academy of Sciences, known for its investigations into computer facilities of new generations.

Li Tieying Meets USSR Deputy Education Chairman
OW1607080689 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0100 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] In a meeting with a Soviet delegation led by Shukshunov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Public Education, Li Tieying, minister in charge of the State Education Commission, said: Sending students overseas for study is an important part of China's policy of reform and opening up to the outside world.

The Soviet delegation is in Beijing to attend a regular meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Working Group for Cooperation in Education.

Soviet-Chinese Energy Meeting Held in Beijing
OW1607073589 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1400 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] The third meeting of the energy cooperation work group of the Soviet-Chinese Governmental Committee for Economic, Scientific, Technological, and Trade Cooperation Committee was held in Beijing from 24 June to 8 July.

Chinese Minister of Energy Huang Yicheng received the Soviet delegation after the start of talks.

PRC, USSR To Begin Joint Venture in Crimea
OW1607091489 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 2 Jul 89

[From "On the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] The mutually beneficial trade ties between the Soviet resort region of Crimea and China's Hainan Province are growing continuously. During a Hainan provincial delegation's first visit to Crimea recently, an agreement was reached on setting up a joint venture, named South Sea, in Crimea by the Black Sea. The scope of the venture includes repairing the existing spas, building new lodgings, restaurants, rest areas, and other social and cultural facilities. Construction of Chinese hotels and coffee shops, ice cream and doughnut shops, and launderettes is also being planned. The Soviet side will pay the Chinese side with industrial products manufactured in Crimea, such as (?oil operated) cranes, underwater [words indistinct], and electric welding machines.

River Transport Resumes Between USSR, PRC
OW1807115589 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia
1300 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] A freighter flying the Chinese flag left Harbin port for Khabarovsk, restoring river transport between the Soviet Union and China that had been suspended for 26 years. [no date given]

Officials of Harbin City in Heilongjiang Province and members of a visiting Soviet agricultural delegation attended a ceremony marking the maiden voyage. The Soviet visitors presented the captain of the Chinese freighter with a [word indistinct] and wished the crew a bon voyage.

Gong Benyan, mayor of Harbin City, pointed out: This event is taking place when relations between the two nations are completely normalized. China will do its best to expand trade volume between the two nations.

Urumchi-Alma-Ata Air Service Inaugurated
PM1307132789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent G. Dildyayev: "First Trip to China"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 12 Jul—Today, for the first time, a Kazakh Civil Aviation Administration Tu-154 aircraft took off for the city of Urumchi—administrative center of Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Regions in the PRC.

On board were representatives of the republic's public, journalists, and pilots who are to be flying the new route. There will now be a regular service to China, twice a week. Flying time to Urumchi Airport is 2 hours.

'Prohibitive Measures' Hamper PRC-USSR Trade
PM1607140989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 12 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondents I. Kots, V. Mamontov, and G. Podlesskikh: "Barricades or Store Counters. What Is Hampering Trade in the Far East"]

[Text] Vladivostok-Khabarovsk-Blagoveshchensk—The strengthening of friendly relations between the USSR and the PRC has also provoked an upsurge of activeness in reciprocal trade. This has been particularly manifest in border areas. For instance, commodity turnover with Chinese partners in the Amur region increased by a factor of 10 in a short period. But then foreign trade democracy was suddenly curtailed. A directive sharply reduced enterprises' economic and industrial initiative and their right to trade independently in foreign markets was restricted. A strict ban was imposed on the export of a number of commodities. All other types of goods and raw materials were licensed.

This administrative regulation of border cooperation was extremely alarming to partners on both sides of the Soviet-Chinese border. Practically all the participants in a "roundtable" at the Amur Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblsipolkom] began with the topic.

R. Zaripov, chief of the oblast trade administration: The decisions took us unawares. However, interest in trading contacts is so strong that our Chinese partners have suggested a way out of the deadlock, proposing to organize joint trading enterprises and work on the basis of obtaining common profit rather than exchanging goods. But our hands are tied.

L. Murzayeva, chief of the Blagoveshchensk "Amurvodstroy" association's manpower support department: We and our Chinese neighbors have learned to reach agreements rapidly. We conclude a contract for some equipment, 3-4 months elapse, then we are given excellent trading, industrial, and refrigeration equipment and

electronic scales. We have been trading very well, in a neighborly fashion. Yet scarcely have they been arranged than our incipient ties are chipped away by the center!

Correspondents' commentary: Let us interrupt the dictaphone transcript of the conversation for a while. What did the people involved in the "roundtable" fail to mention? Certainly, our neighbors thank us. Certainly, the people of the Far East have undertaken their new task with great gusto. But something else must also be acknowledged: Since they lack the minimum commercial and entrepreneurial experience, they have already made many mistakes. Once prices have been driven down on foreign markets it is hard for them to rise, and they subtly take into consideration the internal competition between our enterprises which, when producing similar output, have competed with one another in the rush to procure commodities that are of interest. Here, too, there have also been considerable anomalies. Notably the fact that Blagoveshchensk's shelves were filled with foreign photographic film and video cassettes. Both are costly and are not in short supply in the border area here. Moreover our "businessmen" forgot to buy the requisite reagents for the film. A trifling addition to our consumer market.

This is, of course, an individual, everyday example. But there have been so many miscalculations in all manner of trade that Academician Ye. Primakov, who took part in last year's Far East conference devoted to relations among Asia-Pacific countries, described them as a serious obstacle to the balanced development of the Far East. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers was forced to draw the attention of local soviet and administrative organs to the chaotic development of border trade. So steps needed to be taken. What steps? Unfortunately, in our country a new resolution sometimes cancels out the old one—and everything else can go to hell.

L. Murzayeva: The most annoying thing is that contracts once concluded are not completed. We owe the Chinese and they still owe us. Even now that we have been forbidden to trade, we are obliged to take responsibility for the agreements. Can we really be considered reliable partners otherwise? Considerable penalties are certainly in store for us. We have concluded contracts worth 17 million Swiss francs. We have repaid 4.5 million francs while the rest has hung in mid-air. Inter alia, [illegible figure] casting machines and other industrial equipment have been purchased and a joint enterprise producing automated cranes has been set up. The premises exist; KamAZ is also interested in this kind of joint enterprise. Is it worth wrecking such projects?

Correspondents' commentary: Why must they invariably be "wrecked"? It is a question of licensing and authorization. However, the participants in the "roundtable" cited a dozen examples: The actual procedure for obtaining the requisite documents has become a complex bureaucratic barrier. Couriers from the localities

haunt the capital's doorways for days, weeks, and months. The ministerial apparatus has once again had an opportunity to fully perceive its administrative importance. L. Murzayeva noted that "it has become very difficult, virtually impossible, to obtain a license." In fact there are times when all the contracts with the neighboring side can fit on a single sheet of paper. Whereas the specimen contract sent out by the Ministry of Trade amounts to an entire accounts book.

What has happened? On discovering that border trade was proceeding in an unplanned fashion, the departments responded in one simple way: They put on the administrative bridle to ensure that it was impossible to make a move without orders from the center! Moreover, mistakes at local level (and, as we have seen, they do exist) were blown up to unheard-of proportions. Soviet organs and Far Eastern economic managers are denied any common sense.... And yet there are examples here of extremely beneficial cooperation.

We had a long and thoroughgoing conversation with Gennadiy Prokofyevich Zhebelev, harbormaster at Vostochnyy port. The master of the maritime gateway to the country is convinced that the two key problems—housing and food—can be solved in 6-8 years with our neighbors' help. There are grounds for such bold statements. In the last 5 years port workers have unsuccessfully haunted the thresholds of every conceivable office asking to construct a new school—the old one is overflowing. They only had to conclude a contract with a construction company in the city of Jilin and the question no longer arose: In a year the dockers' children will be throwing a housewarming party. According to Zhebelev's plan, this is the beginning of great work. He wants to "charm" the Chinese construction workers into staying a long time, since he well realizes that the port cannot cope with the "Housing" program on its own—people here wait in line for a comfortable home for 10-15 years. The port chief also pins far-reaching plans on Chinese agrarian specialists, who cultivate vegetables here under contract. Zhebelev is convinced that in time the small economic unit will turn into a major enterprise, with a pig breeding complex and poultry farm constructed by the Chinese. The participants in the conversation also talked about other interesting ventures.

P. Simonets, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom]: We are now supplying China with electricity, having received authorization to sell 3 billion kilowatt-hours through the year 2000. In effect only approximately 30 percent of the electricity is taken from Blagoveshchensk heat and electric power station. I believe that trade in electricity is mutually advantageous. The "raw material trade" has rightly been condemned. We are producing an intolerably large amount of waste products today. Chinese timber processing enterprises are not fully occupied. They could be supplied with sawdust, shavings, and all manner of waste products.

M. Stankevich, deputy general director of the "Amursprom" association: If we resolve our timber processing problems ourselves, it will take a great deal of time. If we do it together, we will be able to reduce this period. But it is a question of resources. All our output is distributed in a centralized fashion. Thus, we do not have a cubic meter for free trade. We are left with half logs and firewood. How are we to escape from this situation? We have reached agreements with the Chinese for them to construct a plant producing particle board in our country. At first it was a question of 20-30,000 cubic meters. The ministry did not approve the project. Now a production unit for 80-100,000 cubic meters of particle board is being worked on using Chinese equipment and their documentation, but our raw materials. The compensation is the output. This will make it possible to develop the furniture industry in the oblast using local resources.

P. Simonets: When I met the Chinese provincial leadership I said that life itself was compelling us to limit raw material trade. My colleague from Harbin agreed that we must seek ways of commodity exchange. We then decided to show our Chinese partners an exhibition of the goods that we can sell. Our partners managed to invite almost half of China to it. But the customs service told us: You can trade, but don't you dare export goods for an exhibition. We were shown the licensing list and told to bundle up all the goods that are on the list and go to this exhibition. You will agree that this is an absurd situation.

N. Kregel, deputy director of the municipal industrial trading center: In my opinion, while accusing us of lacking skill in trade, our comrades from the center are not prepared to give lessons themselves. Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations representatives registered us—two representatives worked here—but they, too, obviously have inconsiderable experience because they consulted Moscow on virtually every question and could not make decisions independently. We ourselves then went to Moscow. No matter where you turn, no one knows anything for certain.

L. Murzayev: This is the most important thing. Comrade Mizinchikov, deputy director of "Dalintorg," came to see us here. I said to him bluntly: We have taken the wind out of your sails, there is nothing for you to do. Yet you are vexed! I have looked at your prices and ours, and we may have been selling some fertilizer 2 francs too cheaply. But look—goods here have been sold at twice your prices. And you do not like that!

P. Simonets: I had very frank conversations with the Chinese. They realize that border trade will not revolutionize the economy. But it is extremely important for our neighbors. The Chinese see moreover that Amur Oblast is the economic gateway to the Soviet Union for them.

I believe that licensing by directive will simply hold back the Far East. Of course, some restrictions could be established. We could say: That's all, comrades, you cannot export any more. Yet everything must be done in a more organized fashion! Of course, these administrative zigzags have worried the Chinese. They are constantly issuing me with invitations now. I do not go—I have nothing to take with me. Am I to go there and lament and complain about our bureaucrats?

Correspondents' commentary: On our return to Moscow, we got in touch with A. Tikoti, senior specialist at the USSR Council of Ministers Foreign Economic State Commission. Aleksandr Grigoryevich said that there is no departmental approach in the substance and spirit of the restrictive directives, that they are determined by the course of events and by life. For instance, until recently our country had only 100 exporters, whereas by the end of this year the figure will have risen to 10,000. Under these conditions the state is forced to monitor enterprises' and organization's foreign economic activity. This practice exists throughout the world.

Of course, that is all true. People everywhere are well aware of this, including those in the Far East. Participants in the "roundtable" discussion at the Amur Oblispolkom frequently said that foreign trade must be regulated by the state. However, regulated does not mean banned, when authorization must be obtained from the appropriate ministries for the sale of every cubic meter of firewood and every tonne of fertilizer. Can people in the center, 7,000km away, discern everything, even trifling matters on a state scale, but nevertheless blatant necessities at local level?

I wanted to know whether the special features of the border oblasts and Amur Oblast itself are taken into consideration at all. However, I did not succeed in obtaining an intelligible answer. Can A. Tikoti's general arguments about collective farms that are supposedly ready to export food and enterprises that are endeavoring to sell television sets and ice boxes really attest to an understanding of the situation in the Amur region? The people of the Far East want to obtain high-tech household equipment, create joint enterprises to produce it, and obtain the work force that is in such short supply—in exchange for timber and electricity. But no, authorization is necessary for literally everything.

"The prohibitive measures that have been adopted literally take us backward," V. Vetchinkin, first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, believes.

From the viewpoint of commercial common sense this is, at the least, a strange situation. First that we expansively permit everyone who wants to trade to do so and anyone who takes it into his head to export goods to the foreign market to do so. Then, after arousing healthy and unhealthy interest in our partners we suddenly remember ourselves and go to the opposite extreme—we place

foreign trade relations under total administrative-departmental control, control which is equally rigid whether it is a question of millions of tonnes and cubic meters of our resources or of border trade on a microscopic scale. Even when dictated by good intentions, such steps are not merely undermining border trade but are also injuring our commercial prestige and casting doubts on our competence and reliability as partners. I think that this question deserves attention from a competent USSR Supreme Soviet commission.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Uno Faces Problems Attending Paris Summit
OW1407093289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Dmitryev commentary]

[Text] The summit talks of seven Western industrialized nations will begin in Paris on 14 July. Concerning this Paris summit, Moscow Radio commentator Dmitryev says as follows:

It appears likely that the Paris summit will be remembered in Japan as one of the most problematic conferences in which it has participated. The problem is not the conference itself but the fact that Prime Minister Uno must continue to think about the impression this conference will create on many Japanese. Prime Minister Uno flew to Paris with only 10 days left before the upcoming House of Councillors election. There is a possibility that this House of Councillors election will result in fundamental changes in Japan's political parties' power relationships.

The voters are unhappy about the Recruit scandal and the institution of the three percent consumption tax. As a result, control of the House of Councillors by the Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP] is being exposed to a danger. Hence, Prime Minister Uno must succeed in making a name for himself in the Paris summit, not only to strengthen Japan's position among the Western nations but also to restore the shaken position of the LDP within Japan.

According to news reports from Japan, the prime minister is hoping to achieve this success, by coming up with plans on aid to developing nations and environmental protection. The problems of the environment and loans to developing nations are to be given priority in the Paris summit. Japan can make weighty speeches and promote its authority at the Paris summit thanks to her great economic power. Most likely, Prime Minister Uno will try to pull off maximum publicity gains making the most of this given chance. If the actions of the Japanese Government on environment and loans receive public endorsement from the industrialized nations of the West, the voters' thoughts about Prime Minister Uno and the LDP can turn for the better.

In the meantime, the position of the Japanese Government regarding the recent incidents in China is more complicated. As you may be aware, anti-Japanese feelings of several Western nations surrounding this matter are very stern. The stand Japan took preceding the Paris summit was that of wanting to separate the issue of sanctions from that of human rights.

A few days before the start of the summit, Watanabe, the Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman, made a severe criticism of the Tiananmen Square incident, in order to show the Western nations that Japan is loyal to Western thinking about pro-democracy. But the Japanese Government on the other hand maintains its view that China should continue to be a nation open to the Western nations. From this standpoint, the Japanese Government is opposed to sanctions against China and to the seven major western nations' adopting a joint statement criticizing China. It is difficult to predict in what manner debates on this matter will end. It is as clear as day that debates themselves will never end with a clear-cut conclusion.

There are also inconsistent news reports about Japan's stand on Soviet foreign policies. Prime Minister Uno is trying to positively evaluate the Soviet restructuring and Soviet foreign policies. One year has passed since the last summit and there have been important happenings during that one year period. The Soviet Union has pulled out its troops from Afghanistan and announced it would cut its troop strength by 500,000 men. Included in the 500,000 men of the troops are 120,000 men in the Far East.

Japanese mass media are reporting on Japan's new position regarding this situation and according to the reports, the Japanese Government has come to a point where it can no longer ignore the changes that are presently taking place.

We call on Japan to squarely face what is happening at present, and we expect the Japanese Government to show its desire for the alleviation of tensions in Asia in deeds. In the expanded meeting of the ASEAN—Association of Southeast Asian Nations—held in Bandar Seri Begawan of Brunei, Foreign Minister Mitsuzuka praised highly the actions of the Soviet Union for the alleviation of tensions in the Asian and Pacific region.

Japan's mass media also report the Japanese Government is viewing these Soviet actions as being inadequate. According to a KYODO report quoting a government source, Prime Minister Uno called on six other major Western nations to be cautious in dealing with relations with Eastern nations. In the last summit in Toronto, Japan assumed a more high-handed position regarding the Soviet Union than three other nations did, but we can guess that Japan will not behave in such a manner this time. Probably in the forthcoming summit in Paris, conditions will exist which will require the Western nations to solidify their unity—not to confront but to have dialogue with the Eastern bloc.

How will it actually turn out? We can find out by next week.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine's Manglapus Continues USSR Visit

Manglapus Arrival Statement Quoted

*HK1807055489 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[Text] Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus arrived in Moscow for an official visit on July 16, at the invitation of the Soviet Government. At the airport, he was met by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and other officials. Among those who met him were Soviet Ambassador to the Philippines Oleg Sokolov and Philippine Ambassador to the Soviet Union Juan Saez. On his arrival, the secretary gave the following statement:

Today, I speak for the first time on the soil of a venerable country which has, during this past century, witnessed many important events. I am delighted to be here. I have arrived proffering the warm greetings of my country to the citizens of the Soviet Union and its leaders, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Mikhail Gorbachev, and my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze. I have come to the Soviet Union to represent the Philippine Government in consultations for mutual cooperation and the enhancement of ties between our two countries.

The first contact between Russia and the Philippines took place 2 centuries ago. Diplomatic relations between our two countries were only established in 1976. Nevertheless our relations are a good example of two countries with different societies and political systems cooperating in friendly fashion to achieve greater freedom and prosperity. Our agreements have been based on democratic principles; our relations are based on mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country. Our relations over the years did not involve interference in each other's domestic affairs. Clearly there is still much we can accomplish, especially in the area of cooperation and assistance involving trade and livelihood schemes. We can engage in various other ventures which will finally break down the old barriers that hindered various initiatives in the past.

My present visit provides a good opportunity for the Philippines and the Soviet Union to fulfill their objectives. During my brief visit, economic and technical assistance agreements will be signed. We will also look into the possibility of issuing a memorandum regarding the creation of a joint commission, as well as the signing of a memorandum covering diplomatic exchanges.

I will affix my signature to a program for cultural exchanges. We Filipinos can, as could other citizens of the world, learn many things from a rich culture such as that of the Soviet Union's, and we can benefit from its

scientific and technical expertise. Besides signing documents, I would like to get to know the Soviet people, and to learn about their new thinking, their concepts of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization. I know this friendship will be invaluable to us. Past efforts to break down the barriers between us have succeeded, and our objective to unite and cooperate remains.

I have come bearing cordial feelings from the Philippines and from President Corazon Aquino. I have no doubt that I will return home with a deeper understanding of the new perspectives and the new realism which prevails in the Soviet Union and among its citizens.

Shevardnadze, Manglapus Give Speeches
PM1807143089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Philippine Talks"]

[Text] Talks took place in Moscow 17 July between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Philippine Foreign Secretary R. Manglapus, who has arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

The ministers exchanged information on the state of affairs in their countries. E.A. Shevardnadze briefed the Philippine guest on the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union, and in particular spoke of the results of the Congress of People's Deputies and the meaning and significance of its decisions for the Soviet state's internal life and foreign policy.

R. Manglapus noted that in the Philippines, as is the case throughout the world, people are watching carefully and sympathetically the profound changes taking place in Soviet society, the success of which will be of great significance not only for the USSR, but for all mankind. He wished the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government fruitful work in implementing the tasks facing them.

There was a thorough discussion of the state of Soviet-Philippine relations and their prospects. Satisfaction was expressed that in recent times links and contacts between the two countries have been developing favorably, which is particularly apparent in the sphere of political dialogue. The exchange of messages between the two countries' top leaders has become established, and contacts have been stepped up between representatives of governments and parliaments. E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that people in the Soviet Union have great respect for the Philippines and its freedom-loving people, watch with sincere sympathy the efforts of C. Aquino's government in the cause of the country's national development, and welcome its intention to play a more active role in world affairs.

The participants in the talks came out in favor of further raising the level of the whole range of relations between the USSR and the Philippines, with due mutual respect

for their links with third countries. The importance of the forthcoming official visit of Philippine President C. Aquino to the USSR at the Soviet leadership's invitation was stressed. The conviction was expressed that this visit will make it possible to raise our countries' cooperation to a fundamentally new level and give a boost to new initiatives in various spheres of bilateral relations. An accord in principle was reached on the formation of a working party of representatives of the two countries' foreign ministries to prepare for the visit.

The ministers stressed their mutual commitment to the joint quest for new forms and areas of cooperation, including the trade and economic sphere, and to the strengthening of the legal and treaty basis for corresponding activity by Soviet and Philippine organizations. Mention was made of the useful role of contacts in the sphere of culture and sport, and also between social organizations, in the cause of deepening mutual understanding and strengthening the climate of trust between the Soviet and Philippine peoples. The sides agreed to work to improve visa procedures and improve conditions for the functioning of the two sides' missions in their respective capitals.

The sides noted the great proximity or coincidence of the positions of the Soviet Union and the Philippines on many questions of world politics. The urgent need was stressed for progress in the cause of resolving such urgent tasks of today as ending the arms race, first and foremost the nuclear arms race, preventing it from spreading into space, and establishing broad international cooperation in the struggle against poverty, disease, and hunger and for the prevention of ecological disaster. The ministers came out in favor of transferring the resources currently swallowed up by the arms race to the needs of economic development and social progress.

The sides devoted considerable attention to the situation in the Asian and Pacific region. E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Manglapus noted with satisfaction that in this region too the process of normalizing the political atmosphere, improving interstate relations, and solving conflicts and regional disputes is gathering speed, and a search for mutually beneficial partnership has begun to take shape. In this context, the Soviet side stressed the significance of the visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the PRC and the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

The Philippine minister spoke highly of the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives, noting their importance for the resolution of military-political and economic problems in the Asian and Pacific region. He assessed Soviet-Chinese normalization as a factor promoting stability in that part of the globe.

At the same time mutual concern was expressed at the continuing militarization of the Asian and Pacific region and the high level of military confrontation in the region.

The idea of the need to seek ways of lessening military tension and work on the creation of a multilateral negotiating mechanism there was put forward.

There was a detailed analysis of the development of the situation in Southeast Asia. It was noted that dialogue is developing actively between the Indochinese states and the ASEAN countries and collaboration is growing between them with a view to formulating joint steps to establish an atmosphere of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation there.

Giving a positive assessment of progress in the cause of a Cambodian settlement, the ministers expressed the hope that the forthcoming international conference on Cambodia will take place successfully.

E.A. Shevardnadze reaffirmed the Soviet Union's support for plans to create a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia and declared readiness to begin consultations on the main components of the concept of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia, as was proposed by the ASEAN countries. The USSR's desire to develop full relations with countries belonging to the association and with ASEAN as a whole was reaffirmed.

Certain other international questions were also discussed, in particular questions concerning the world economic situation. R. Manglapus stated that the Philippine Government assesses highly the USSR's position on problems concerning the developing countries' debt.

The talks took place in a spirit of amicability and sincerity, reflecting the sides' desire to strengthen mutual understanding and trust.

A joint communique was adopted on the results of the talks, which will be published in the press.

On the same day E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Manglapus signed a program for cultural exchanges between the USSR and the Republic of the Philippines for 1989-1990, and also a memorandum of intention concerning the exchange of plots of land for embassies and trade missions in Manila and Moscow.

USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations K.F. Katushev and R. Manglapus signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Philippines.

In the evening E.A. Shevardnadze gave a dinner in the guest's honor.

Welcoming him, E.A. Shevardnadze said:

I am pleased to welcome a high-ranking representative of the Republic of the Philippines to Moscow.

I recall that in Manila last December the president, Mrs Corazon Aquino, you, Mr Minister, and your colleagues displayed a sincere interest in our account of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the new political thinking in Soviet foreign policy.

You now have an opportunity at first hand to study the processes taking place in our country and sense their scope and revolutionary nature.

Restructuring also means openness to the outside world, understanding of the paramountcy of common human values, and readiness to seek a balance of interests and respect everyone's right to freedom of choice.

On this platform we would like to develop relations with the Philippines and collaborate with it in international affairs and in strengthening security and expanding cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region.

We have already made substantial progress along this path. It is particularly gratifying that a dialogue is becoming established between our countries that is not merely formal, but a profoundly human dialogue, based on firm mutual trust and respect.

This enables us without prejudice, openly, and constructively to discuss problems, to reveal common features in our approaches, and to push back the boundaries of mutual understanding and consensus.

One active area of Soviet-Philippine dialogue is the situation in the region our countries belong to—the Asian and Pacific region.

Very complex processes are taking place there.

At one pole is the improvement in bilateral relations between many states in the region, the increasingly active urge to seek solutions in seats of tension, and the growing desire to pool efforts to resolve economic, social, and ecological problems.

At the opposite pole is the preservation of distrust and hostility, the region's saturation with weapons, including nuclear weapons, and the attempts to exploit the natural movement toward regional integration in order to create groupings that are closed to a certain range of states.

The Soviet Union has a profound interest in ensuring that the pulse of life in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas is steady and stable. Acting in the spirit of Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, we confirm with concrete deeds our readiness to pursue a constructive policy and create the conditions for ensuring lasting peace, reliable security, and equal cooperation here.

In our view genuine and universal security and stability in this region can only be guaranteed through joint efforts by all the countries located here, big and small, on the basis of the balance of their interests.

Very favorable conditions are now emerging for this at a worldwide and a regional level. We are convinced that this is also promoted by the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, which was welcomed by all states.

It is gratifying to see that the clouds that gathered over Southeast Asia as a result of the Cambodian conflict are dispersing. Here an important part is played by the constructive and realistic line of national reconciliation pursued by the government of the State of Cambodia and the SRV's decision to complete the withdrawal of its volunteers from Cambodia in September of this year. The ASEAN countries, including, of course, the Philippines, also deserve considerable credit for what is happening. Mention must be made of your country's active participation in the informal Jakarta meetings, which reflects its commitment to the principle of resolving any contentious issues by peaceful means. This position was also manifested in the Philippines' policy aimed at establishing and maintaining political dialogue with Vietnam.

On the agenda now is the question of convening and holding an international conference on Cambodia. It is important for the conference to be convened before the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia and held as soon as possible. In our view, the priority tasks for the conference could be to formulate measures aimed at preventing the restoration of a genocide regime in any form after the withdrawal of foreign troops; preventing civil war there, ending foreign military aid to all the warring Khmer factions; adopting international guarantees with regard to Cambodia's status as an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned state; and formulating guarantees of the Khmer sides' accords.

The Soviet Union intends to play an active part in this forum, which is crucial to a Cambodian settlement, in the interests of the people of Cambodia and the cause of peace and security in the region.

In accordance with the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives—and for us, they serve as not only a theoretical basis, but a program for concrete practical actions—the Soviet Union will firmly continue the line of further developing links with all the ASEAN states. This applies in full, naturally, to the Philippines.

Changes for the better are taking place in Soviet-Philippine relations. Political contacts have widened. Mr Concepcion, Philippine secretary of trade and industry, and Mr Arizabal, Philippine secretary of science and technology, visited our country. A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation went to your country. There have been a number of meetings between members of the public and representatives of religious circles.

Political contacts have been, so to speak, the catalyst of the expansion of our cooperation in various areas. This is indicated by the bilateral documents that you and I, Mr Manglapus, have just signed. There is the program for cultural exchanges for the next 2 years, the agreement

on economic and technical cooperation, and the memorandum on intentions concerning the exchange of real estate with a view to creating more favorable conditions for the functioning of our diplomatic and trade missions.

Certain concrete deals have also been concluded, including a deal on the delivery of a large consignment of Soviet large freight trucks to the Philippines. Talks are in progress on the possibility of production sharing in the spheres of sewn goods and footwear and deliveries of Philippine vegetables to Far Eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

All this is clear evidence of our joint progress, which has good prospects.

The forthcoming talk between you and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and our exchange of opinions are an important stage in preparations for the official visit to the USSR by Philippine President Mrs Corazon Aquino.

I would like to say that we will be sincerely glad to welcome her to our country, and we are confident that the Soviet-Philippine summit talks will open up a fundamentally new phase—a higher phase, in accordance with the realities of today—in our relations and give a powerful boost to their further all-around development.

I have heard, Mr Minister, that in your people's rich, original folklore there is a saying: A boat's speed depends on the strength of the wind. Using this folk wisdom, I would like to put it like this: The ship of Soviet-Philippine relations awaits a great voyage, because a fresh, inspiring wind is filling its sails, a wind of mutual sympathy and respect, of sincere commitment to the ideals of peace and progress, a wind of trust and friendship.

In conclusion E.A. Shevardnadze came out in favor of further dynamic movement in Soviet-Philippine relations for the sake of our countries and peoples, in the interests of strengthening peace and security and extending international cooperation, and for the well-being and prosperity of the friendly Philippine people.

In his reply speech R. Manglapus said:

One of the finest literary characters created by Anton Chekhov is Olenka in his story "Darling." Three times she is gripped by a deep feeling of love, and each time she loses her beloved. Olenka realizes that she is only alive when she is in love. Preparing an assignment for a geography lesson with a little boy, she repeats the definition: "An area of dry land surrounded on all sides by water is called an island." Subconsciously she feels that she is an island, and knows that she will remain in isolation unless she finds a link with the mainland of

human existence. For Olenka, that linking bridge is love. The fine artist Chekhov has endowed Olenka with the desire, characteristic of modern man, to be a part of the life around her.

The world today is in thrall to political, social, and economic realities that require the building of bridges so that we are not cut off from one another like islands, and can return to the human continent. These realities involve, on the one hand, the need for development and growth, and on the other a shortage of resources to meet that need.

President Gorbachev has, in his statements, repeatedly called for the more rational utilization of world resources, so that they can be used not for conflicts and confrontation, but for peace and cooperation.

We Filipinos welcome these appeals. Now, as we appeal to our friends for economic aid to restore our economy, which was ruined by years of dictatorial robbery, calls like those made by President Gorbachev give us confidence that the means available to our friends will help us to cope with our difficulties.

The policy of the new thinking, so energetically pursued by President Gorbachev and the other Soviet leaders—the policy of restructuring, glasnost, democratization—makes a profound impression on us.

Representatives of all peoples are watching with profound interest the unprecedented changes taking place in the Soviet Union. At one time such changes appeared simply inconceivable, but now they touch people's hearts and arouse feelings of sympathy and even admiration. In a short space of time the Russian words "restructuring" and "glasnost" have entered the international vocabulary. Today they are really gaining a resonance as great as the slogan "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," for which I had the honor of attending the bicentennial celebrations in Paris.

It is a great honor and pleasure for me to be able to return your visit to Manila at a time when the Soviet Union is going through a period which is described as your second revolution, no less significant than the 1917 revolution.

I have been fortunate enough to spend a few days in an atmosphere of change and renewal, new ideas and new actions, an atmosphere of improving the revolutionary process.

At home in the Philippines we, too, had a victorious revolution in the recent past. In 1986, after many years of dictatorship, the Filipinos regained their freedom—not through violence, but through faith, hope, and love: faith in ourselves; hope that in the hearts of soldiers preparing to shoot, the inherent human goodness of love would prevail, love that despises social differences and emphasizes our commitment to humanism, our national

community, and the solidarity of our people as a single whole. This was a revolution that, like yours, is still undergoing a process of improvement.

Like Olenka in Chekhov's "Darling," we live because we love. Our revolution was founded on the ideals of love, and our new constitution is largely based on such values as love for peace, equality, justice, and freedom and commitment to cooperation and friendship between peoples.

The idea of friendship between peoples is at the basis of the policy we pursue with regard to our neighbors in Southeast Asia and our friends in other parts of the world. We are guided by this spirit in our relations with great powers like the Soviet Union. Official Philippine-Soviet relations were established only 13 years ago, but now exchanges in the political and cultural spheres are developing actively between our countries. Official representatives of our governments have begun to exchange visits more frequently, and the exchange of experience between our countries' cultural figures and scientists is widening. We can draw much for our own benefit from your rich heritage in the sphere of culture, literature, music, science, and technology.

Perhaps in the sphere of economic activity the volume of reciprocal trade between our countries has fallen in the last 10 years, but we are fully determined to regain lost ground and beat the former records in the history of our trade ties. We are also fully determined to cooperate in other spheres, including investments in joint enterprises and technology and its transfer within the framework of concrete programs and projects.

We have just signed a long-term "umbrella" agreement on economic and technical cooperation covering a wide range of development projects, and we are examining the range of powers of a mixed commission that would monitor cooperation in this sphere. I am confident that many more accords will be agreed, formulated, and signed between us, and that this will confirm how strong our relations could be. The day is rapidly approaching when we will deal with each other without any prejudice.

It is not only the map of the world, but also the events of today that confirm that the Soviet Union is in Asia, in East Asia, and we Filipinos recognize this reality.

Our countries are building bridges. This is the essence of the content of the weighty initiatives and speeches in Vladivostok, Krasnoyarsk, Jakarta, Delhi, New York, Havana, Bonn, and Beijing. For our part, the aim of our efforts under the leadership of President Corazon Aquino is to come to meet you in the building of these transcontinental bridges.

This aim is a world renouncing the use of force and violence, in favor of dialogue, cooperation, and good will. May our efforts culminate in real success, may our

aims—shared by all the other countries of the world—be achieved, and not just for the sake of a few peoples, but for all the people who inhabit the globe!

The day when violence and cruelty give way to dialogue, cooperation, and good will is coming closer and closer thanks to new phenomena on the world horizon. These phenomena are associated with names like Gorbachev and Shevardnadze and concepts like restructuring and glasnost.

We are living in a world of great events and hopes, and I thank you for the invitation to visit one of the sources of these hopes. I am glad to be, as they say, "in the thick of events." [Manglapus ends]

The dinner was attended by N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and other officials.

USSR-Philippine Agreements Viewed
HK1807073989 Manila BUSINESS WORLD
in English 18 Jul 89 p 10

[Text] Even as new envoy to Moscow Juan Saez strives to depict Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus's visit there as "redressing the historical imbalance in the Philippines' relations" with the East bloc, this goes "only as far as the reality of the country's situation will allow."

Mr Manglapus, who will be visiting until July 21, is expected to conclude two agreements with the Soviets. As of yesterday, foreign affairs department sources disclosed negotiations on the "finer points" of an umbrella accord on economic and technical cooperation were still ongoing.

"It's a last-minute job. I think Mr Manglapus was briefed on the developments of the economic-technical agreement during the five-hour flight to Moscow," a DFA [Department of Foreign Affairs] source told BUSINESS WORLD.

On the other hand, a protocol covering an extensive program of cultural exchanges between the Soviet Union and the Philippines, initialed here last week, merely awaits the signature of Mr Manglapus and his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze.

Included are proposals for exchanges involving opera and ballet troupes, folk dancers, dance instructors, orchestras, music teachers, theatrical directors, information materials (print, film literature), visual arts and museum exhibits.

The Soviet Union is proposing the grant of 60 scholarships for university courses, 10 for post graduate studies and 20 for other studies including language instruction and TV and radio production.

The sending country will bear the round trip travel expenses while the receiving country will undertake the board and lodging of these exchange groups.

Aside from the agreements, the institution of a joint Philippine-Soviet commission to oversee trade cooperation, development projects and technological transfers is to be taken up.

Meanwhile, a Philippine diplomat revealed the Soviets were "disappointed that the Philippines bowed to pressure from the US and Japan and declined the invitation to send observers to the Soviet naval exercise in the Sea of Japan."

"It was to be expected...of the 14 Asia-Pacific countries invited, only Indonesia, India and Vietnam accepted," he said.

Lukyanov Receives New Philippine Ambassador
LD1607015789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] In the Kremlin today [15 July], Juan Saez, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of the Philippines to the USSR, presented his credentials to Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Both sides confirmed their intention to continue the course toward the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines, broadening their cooperation and deepening their interaction in various spheres.

After the presentation a friendly talk took place between Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov and Juan Saez.

Lukyanov, Philippine's Saez Agree To Expand Ties
HK1707062989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] First Deputy Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov and Philippine Ambassador to the Soviet Union Juan Saez agreed to further advance the already progressive friendly relations and to expand cooperation in other fields between the two countries.

Lukyanov reiterated the Soviet Union's readiness to adhere to the Vladivostok accord involving the Asia-Pacific region, whose goal is the improvement of the situation in the area, the maintenance of peace and security, and the establishment of mutual cooperation and regional assistance.

Ambassador Saez said that the Philippines welcomes Gorbachev's concept of a united European community and added that the people were hopeful this could bring about worldwide harmony and progress.

Philippine Rebels Propose Truce, Peace Talks
HK1507032389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines
1300 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] The Philippine Government is increasingly convinced of the need to hold a new round of peace talks with insurgents. Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos announced that the administration is prepared to study seriously all the means for resolution of the issue. Government troops and the insurgents have been fighting relentlessly for 20 years now, claiming hundreds of lives every year.

The rebel organization has proposed a truce and a resumption of talks even as it spelled out its conditions including the removal of U.S. military bases from Philippine territory.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev, Committee Discuss POW's, Afghanistan
LD1407141789 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1326 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jul (TASS)—In the Kremlin today, there was a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman and members of a delegation of the Nadezhda [Hope] People's Committee for the Rescue of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan, A.T. Amelin, V.V. Akimov, I.I. Andronov, A.D. Gorbunova, Ye.G. Zhukova, Ye. Yu. Poplavskaya, A.A. Prokhanov, and A.A. Semenova.

After warmly welcoming those present, M.S. Gorbachev said:

We have ended the war in Afghanistan. The troops have come home, but the war's consequences are weighty: Many people have died, some people were handicapped, some lost without a trace, and some were taken prisoner. With all my heart I sympathize with their parents. Hope always remains, however. You were right to title your committee with that word, hope. We will hope for better things, for the joy of meetings.

In any case, you know the attitude of the Soviet leadership: Using all channels, through Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Arab countries, the United States and the UN, we will do everything to rescue our boys and come to their help. Let us all do this together.

The most important thing, however, is that we must do everything to ensure that what happened to us in Afghanistan never happens again. That, I think, is obvious to all of us.

The participants in the meeting told M.S. Gorbachev of the activities of the people's committee, of their recent trip to Pakistan, of their talks with that country's leaders, and of their talks with a number of leaders of the Afghan

armed opposition. In a few days a delegation of the Nadezhda committee will fly to Afghanistan to seek the assistance of that republic's leadership in freeing the Soviet prisoners of war.

M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the Soviet diplomatic service in Afghanistan will be required to give every assistance in the successful completion of the committee delegation's noble mission.

During the talks, some specific questions relating to the recovery of the Soviet prisoners of war were also discussed.

The meeting was held in an extremely cordial and open atmosphere.

The chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ye.M. Primakov, took part in the meeting.

15 Jul Kabul Bomb Blast Kills 9, Injures 51
LD1507143389 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1412 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul, 15 July (TASS)—The irreconcilable opposition has committed another act of vandalism in Kabul. After losing the battle at Jalalabad and failing in its 14 July attempt to retake Samar Kheyl which was recently captured by government forces, the extremists in their impotent rage are killing civilians in the Afghan capital.

The barbaric rocketing of Kabul has already been reported. Today the "Irreconcilables" exploded a high powered device placed in a Toyota pickup car in a densely populated district of Kabul, in the immediate vicinity of the "Ariana" cinema and the "bamian" hotel.

According to preliminary data, nine people died and 51 were wounded. Many private houses and public buildings were damaged. Information is still coming in about the dead, wounded, and damage.

This act of terrorism on the part of the so-called Afghan "fighters for religion" was committed on the last day of the Muslim feat of the sacrifice, indicating yet again that the fight for Muslim interests is no more than a screen for a "dollar jihad".

Further Report

LD1507153589 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT
15 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul July 15 TASS—A new act of vandalism was committed in Kabul today by the irreconcilable opposition. After the defeat at Jalalabad and the failure on July 14 to recapture Samar Kheyl captured recently by government troops, extremists vented their impotent fury on civilians in the Afghan capital.

Barbarous missile shelling of Kabul has already been reported by the media. On Saturday the irreconcilables detonated high-power explosives planted in a Toyota pickup car in the densely populated area of Kabul near the Ariana cinema and the Bamian Hotel.

Preliminary estimates show that nine people were killed and 51 wounded. Many private houses and state offices were damaged. Additional information on casualties, injuries and damage is flowing in.

The terrorist action of the so-called Afghan Warriors of Faith was arranged on the closing day of the Moslem holiday of offering. It attests once again to the fact that their alleged struggle for the interests of Moslems is but a screen for a dollar-seeking jihad.

Afghanistan's Qandahar Official Forecasts Attack
LD1507155189 Moscow World Service in English
1500 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] The governor general of Afghanistan's southeastern province of Qandahar, which borders on Pakistan, has told newsmen in the provincial capital that armed units of the irreconcilable opposition are preparing an offensive on the city of Qandahar following their major setback at Jalalabad.

The governor described the offensive plan as having been drafted by Islamabad. Pakistan is reported to have stationed 200 tanks and several dozen aircraft in bordering districts.

Tension Persists in Afghanistan; Shelling Continues
LD1507125889 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT
15 Jul 89

[Text] Kabul July 15 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

In the past 24 hours, formations of the irreconcilable opposition supported by the Pakistani military and Arab mercenaries launched another assault from the east against the Nangarhar Province administrative centre, the city of Jalalabad. Government troops' units and formations, the military command report says, have kept the positions occupied by them. During the battle, 40 rebels were killed, the losses of the government troops amounted to four killed and seven wounded people.

Last Friday, the irreconcilables again shelled the capital with rockets. As a result of direct missile hit, one man was injured in the Antony Hospital, the building was damaged.

Extremists subjected to massive rocket bombardment Qandahar. Several shells struck the provincial hospital. Two staff members were killed, two others wounded. One civilian was killed as a result of shelling the city of Gardeyz by the rebels.

Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry sent another note to the U.N. good offices mission citing new facts of the flagrant violations by Pakistan of the Geneva Accord provisions.

Kochetov Leads Military Delegation to Kuwait
LD1707093389 Kuwait KUNA in English
0806 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 17 (KUNA)—Soviet First Deputy Defense Minister Konstantin Kochetov left here Monday for Kuwait on an official four-day visit.

The Soviet official is accompanied by a military delegation that groups ranking officials of the Soviet Defense Ministry.

In a statement to KUWAIT NEWS AGENCY before departure, Kochetov hailed the Kuwaiti policy on the international and regional levels, particularly toward the Palestinian crisis and the situation in the Gulf region.

The official said that the military cooperation between his country and Kuwait is an extension to the bilateral relations between the two countries and pointed out that this cooperation is successfully developing.

Kochetov expressed belief that there are spheres in the military relations that can be developed and said that the Kuwaiti side is also having the same view.

He added that the aim of his visit to Kuwait is to bolster military cooperation between the two countries, but he made it clear that no new military agreements would be signed during the visit and pointed out that there are standing agreements between the two countries that are being implemented as scheduled within the framework of the comprehensive bilateral cooperation.

The visit by General Kochetov to Kuwait is the first of its kind to be held [word indistinct] (franking) military official.

Hizballah-Amal Fighting Resumes in Beirut
PM1707113789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Lashkul dispatch: "The Crash of Explosions Again"]

[Text] Beirut—Armed clashes between the pro-Iranian organization "Hizballah" and the "Amal" Shi'ite movement have resumed in the Lebanese capital and its southern suburbs.

Bitter exchanges of submachinegun and missile fire flared up at night in the region of Beirut's international airport and the southern suburbs of the Lebanese capital. Many civilians have been injured in the renewed fighting. Armed exchanges have completely blocked traffic on the coast road from Beirut to the south of the country.

Troop subunits from the Syrian contingent of inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon have managed to halt the internecine fighting. According to the influential newspaper L'ORIENT-LE JOUR, the latest bloody round of armed clashes has been prompted by a struggle between the two organizations for the right to dominate the Shi'ite community and also by rivalry between "Amal" and "Hizballah" for the leading role in combat actions against the Israeli occupationists in southern Lebanon.

Belousov Leads Delegation on Visit to Iraq
LD1407121989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Among foreign news there is the departure of the Soviet Government delegation to Baghdad to take part in the celebrations of the 21st anniversary of Revolution Day in Iraq. The delegation is led by Comrade Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Delegation Arrives 14 Jul
LD1407212889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1453 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Baghdad, 14 Jul (TASS)—A Soviet Government delegation headed by I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived here today at the invitation of the Iraqi leadership to attend the forthcoming celebration of the 21st anniversary of the Iraqi revolution.

The delegation was met at Baghdad Airport by M. Hamza al-Zubaydi, member of the regional command of the Ba'th Party and Iraq's minister of transport and communications, and by other officials. Among the welcoming party was V.I. Minin, USSR ambassador to the Iraqi Republic.

Received by President Husayn
LD1807091989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Jul (TASS)—On Monday Iraqi President Saddam Husayn received I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and head of a Soviet Government delegation, that is here at the invitation of the Iraqi leadership. It is taking part in the celebrations to mark the 21st anniversary of the Iraqi revolution. The Soviet representative handed the Iraqi president a message containing warm greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of the national holiday of Iraq.

During lengthy talks, matters relating to the situation in the region were touched on, as were ways of establishing a comprehensive and lasting peace there. The mutual desire on the part of Iraq and the Soviet Union to develop relations and friendship and cooperation in various fields

was noted with satisfaction. The Iraqi side spoke highly of the USSR's efforts to achieve international detente and cut nuclear and conventional weapons.

S. Husayn conveyed his best wishes to the Soviet leadership, to M.S. Gorbachev personally, and to the whole Soviet people.

Present at the meeting were Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; Husayn Kamil Hasan, minister of industry and military industrialization and [title as received]; and Soviet ambassador to the Republic of Iraq V.I. Minin.

That same day, there were talks between the head of the Soviet delegation and Sa'dun Hammadi, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and deputy prime minister; the minister of industry and military industrialization of Iraq; and other Iraqi officials. During these talks there was discussion of matters relating to an extension of bilateral cooperation in various spheres.

The Soviet delegation took part in a solemn wreath laying ceremony at the tomb of the unknown soldier and in other events connected with Iraq's national holiday.

Supreme Soviet, Council of Ministers Greet Iraq
LD1607143489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul [date as received] (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers sent cordial greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the national holiday of the Iraqi republic, Revolution Day.

A telegram to Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and president of the Iraqi Republic, expressed the Soviet Union's satisfaction over the successful development in all areas of relations with the Iraqi Republic, relations built upon the firm foundation of the treaty of friendship and cooperation. "We are convinced," it said "that the consistent consolidation and extension of multifaceted and mutually-advantageous cooperation between our countries and that increasing its effectiveness and dynamism are not only in line with the fundamental interests of the Soviet and Iraqi peoples, but also promote security and stability in the Near and Middle East and contribute to universal peace and the elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe."

Commentary Lauds Democratization Process in Iran
NC1407140389 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Igor Sheftunov commentary: "A Step Toward Democratizing Life in Iran"]

[Text] Dear listeners: On 11 July, the Iranian Interior Ministry officially gave permission to three political organizations—the Islamic Republic's Women's Organization,

the Militant Clergy Association, and the Fedaiyan Organization of Iran—to embark on political activity. The guilds union the Association of Writers and Artists of Iran has also been officially recognized.

There is no doubt that this decision by Iran's officials will assist in the resumption of the trend toward democratization in Iran's social life. Although the Political Parties Act was approved in the Majlis in 1981, the 8-year-long war with Iraq prevented the implementation of this law. With the end of the Iran-Iraq war, this law once again gained credibility. Last December, the Interior Ministry announced that the establishment of political parties would be permitted. It also stressed that the political parties should base their actions on the principles of Iran's freedom and independence.

Prior to the Iran-Iraq war, numerous political parties were active in Iran, including the Tudeh party, which had proved its loyalty to this principle in practice. During the despotism of the Shah's rule, it struggled against the imperialist monarchical regime in a self-sacrificing manner. These organizations and parties spurred the people to rise up in struggle and, after a concerted effort, they were able to attain victory on 22 Bahman [11 February]. The monarchical regime was toppled and a republic proclaimed in Iran. Progressive factions and movements which had been active underground were able to act overtly in the initial stages of the revolution's aftermath and scored many achievements in attaining the revolution's ideals, among them the allocation of the lands of the Shah's absconding landowners as well as the nationalization of foreign banks and companies and the drafting of a new constitution in which they participated.

At the insistence of these parties, articles banning the exploitation of one individual by another and protecting the interests of the masses were incorporated. The Iran-Iraq war, which began 9 years ago, thwarted the realization of the aspirations of the 22 Bahman revolution and inflicted enormous losses on the country's economy, resulting in the spiraling of inflation and the lowering of the standard of living of the people. In addition, the war also had a negative effect on the trend toward democratization in social life. Even the ruling Islamic Republican Party, the only party which could have possibly continued to operate during the time of the war, announced its dissolution 2 years ago.

Following the announcement of the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq and the beginning of the peace talks, the country's reconstruction became Iran's top priority. The government allocated massive sums to reconstruct the devastated towns and villages, promote the growth and expansion of the economy, and resolve acute and (?out-standing) problems. Similarly, steps were taken to democratize social life. Since last December, a special commission has been working on assessing the applications submitted by political parties for permission to operate openly. Last Tuesday permission was granted to

four organizations to operate overtly and legally. Interior Minister Mohtashemi announced that applications by 14 other organizations were under consideration.

The measures adopted by the Iranian officials will assist in the flourishing of social life in Iran and will most certainly have a positive effect on the atmosphere prevailing in the country.

IZVESTIYA Reports Moscow Sendoff for Gandhi
PM1707113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading "R. Gandhi Visits the Soviet Union"]

[Text] On 16 July Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi left Moscow. He has been in the Soviet Union on a friendly working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

R. Gandhi was seen off at the airport by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Shkabardnya, administrator of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.F. Isakov, USSR ambassador to India; and other officials.

Those present also included: T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union; and A. Sattar, Pakistani ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Indian and Soviet state flags were raised at the airport.

Belousov Receives Indian Minister 13 Jul
PM1707112089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] On 13 July I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received D.L. Baitha, Indian minister of state.

During the talk, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, questions of cooperation between the USSR and India in the sphere of aircraft building, as well as other questions of mutual interest, were discussed.

Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program Viewed
LD1607162989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] The mass information media are continuing to comment on the statement of Benazir Bhutto, the Pakistani prime minister, that her country has not developed a nuclear bomb and that it has no such intentions. International affairs journalist Igor Penchenko is at the microphone:

[Penchenko] Judging from all formal signs Pakistan does not belong to the nuclear club. It has not yet carried out proving-ground tests of any nuclear device. But it has a Manhattan Project of its own—that is, a project for developing a nuclear bomb. And we even know what it is called: Project-706. It has been in operation for a long time—since 1972.

We can begin with the fact that an atomic power station has been in operation near Karachi for many years. It is operating on natural uranium. A second atomic power station is being built and also will be fuelled by unenriched uranium. Such stations, let me remind you, yield not only electric power but also plutonium, which is used in nuclear warheads. That is the first thing. Secondly, according to the calculations of the U.S. journal NEWS-WEEK, Pakistan has launched to date not fewer than 3,000 gas centrifuges to enrich uranium. The works in the atomic center at Kahuta further processes enriched uranium to obtain the isotope U-235, also used in nuclear warheads.

Thus, Pakistan has mastered the production of radioactive materials for nuclear explosions—and this should be stressed—on an industrial scale. The Pakistani scientists already also possess the nuclear explosion technology adopted in the United States for making compact aerial bombs as small as 500 kg similar to those dropped on the Japanese cities in August 1945. It is known from U.S. Senate documents recently published that Pakistan has organized the production of casings for nuclear warheads, which moreover can stand up to high pressure when the bombs are dropped at a supersonic speeds.

Next in line is the development of explosives for nuclear warhead detonators. Intensive work is being carried out in this sphere, in particular at the Kahuta atomic center, with equipment received from the United States.

So, it is easy to see that the technological cycle for the production of nuclear ammunition in Pakistan is practically complete. They have the radioactive materials, they have the warheads or casings; and the detonators are almost ready, if not completely ready. And here is what Abdul Quadeer Khan, a key nuclear scientist of the State Commission for Atomic Energy, stated to the British Weekly OBSERVER: Our country actually already has a ready atomic bomb. It does not necessarily have to be tested in natural conditions. A nuclear explosion can be modelled in the laboratory.

But what about the means of delivery? Above all, the U.S. F-16 fighter bombers which are the striking force of the Pakistani Air Force can be used to deliver nuclear weapons. Missiles are another carrier. Pakistan's experts have already tested two types of missiles capable of carrying warheads up to 500 kg in weight. That is the picture regarding Pakistan's realization of its nuclear ambitions.

Telegram Sent to Mauritania on Ties Anniversary
PM1707102389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] To mark the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Mauritanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation have exchanged congratulatory telegrams.

The telegram from the USSR Foreign Ministry said that in the last 25 years friendly relations based on the principles of equality, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, and mutual respect have developed between the two countries. It expressed the belief that the further development of these relations will be in the interests of the two peoples and serve the cause of strengthening universal peace and security.

The telegram from Sh.S.A. Ould Baba, Mauritanian minister of foreign affairs and cooperation [name and title as published], addressed to E.A. Shevardnadze personally, said that in the last 25 years Soviet-Mauritanian relations have been founded on positive bilateral cooperation, which has not only developed and strengthened but also expanded. The minister expressed the belief that the two sides will continue to help to strengthen this cooperation, thereby fulfilling the aspirations of both peoples and making their contribution to the task of strengthening peace and security throughout the world.

Sub-Saharan Africa

PRAVDA Reports Unrest in Somali Capital
PM1707114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Victims of Disturbances"]

[Text] London, 16 Jul—Some 23 people were killed and 59 injured as a result of disturbances which broke out Friday in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, the REUTER agency reports, citing Somali radio. The trouble began in the Western part of Mogadishu during the Muslim 'Id al-Adha festival, a statement by the country's Internal Affairs Ministry broadcast on the radio, points out. It was initiated by "breachers of the peace in the guise of defenders of religion." The security forces tried to restore order by peaceful means, and only after they had

been attacked by firearms, knives, and rocks did they use force. The situation in the capital has returned to normal now, the ministry's statement stresses. REUTER reports that a curfew remains in force in the city.

The victims of the disturbances were buried Saturday in Mogadishu. In a radio appeal to the people that day, Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre expressed condolences to the families of the dead. He urged the population to remain calm, not succumb to the "bandits'" provocations, and help the security forces to maintain order.

Commentary Views Mandela Statement on Botha Talks
MB1407201889 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1900 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Commentary by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] All the talk and commentary about the meeting between the South African president, Pieter Botha, and the leader of the African National Congress, ANC, of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, is reaching a record level.

Every possible conclusion is being drawn as to what was said in those 45 minutes [words indistinct] the government statement said that Nelson Mandela was paid an unofficial visit of courtesy. It turns out that a political figure who has no idea of what to do with his free time suddenly remembers about a close acquaintance and decides to cheer him up with a visit. After exchanging opinions about recent events, they parted—Pieter Botha going off to his private residence and Nelson Mandela, accompanied by guards, to his, on the territory of the prison on the outskirts of the town of Paarl.

People are speculating as to the grounds of the meeting. Many see it in the light of propaganda on the eve of the 6 September election, but they are not ruling out the possibility it is a South African secret service operation. First of all, Nelson Mandela is allowed to live in a comfortable home under the prison's territory, then there is the meeting with the president. The conclusion is, no doubt, the one that is being seen on the pages of the South African press—Nelson Mandela is gradually renouncing the struggle. The conjectures are numerous, though it seems to me the meeting, least of all, appears to be a [word indistinct] the government is trying to get out of its [word indistinct] how many promises have been given by Pieter Botha and his possible successor to the post of president, Frederick de Klerk? Those promises are nothing but empty words until Nelson Mandela [words indistinct] a solution to the constitutional problem. Even in jail, the ANC leader continues to have influence on the thinking of his countrymen. He is their conscience, which no kind of promises can buy. The government has more than once offered Mandela the chance to leave jail in exchange for the promise that he will reject the aims he has devoted his entire life to.

It seems to me that the [word indistinct] conclusion about the meeting with Pieter Botha is that the decision was not made by the president but by South Africa's allies. During Frederick de Klerk's last trip to Europe, he was constantly asked: When will Nelson Mandela be freed? This was not simply an expression of human sentiment, but a political calculation. (?Today), while Mandela is in jail and the government rejects the possibility of peaceful talks with the ANC, it is impossible to have the [words indistinct] beneficial not only to South Africa, but to Western countries. It is, of course, possible to do as the minister of foreign affairs, Roelof Botha, when he said the 6 July meeting was one of the most sensational things for decades. What next? Pretend Mandela can carry on meaningful talks with the government? This could not be taken seriously. The ANC leader does not have normal contact with his organization and his people. Even after [words indistinct] character of a dialogue with someone confined in prison.

Lets say they release Nelson Mandela, and rumors have been flying around about this for a month. Then, what next? During his recent visit to Moscow, I asked Frederick van Zyl Slabbert about this. Mr Mandela wants to be freed, he replied. It is only a question of under what conditions. At a time when the country is under a state of emergency, Nelson Mandela cannot speak at meetings. He is unable to speak freely in the name of his party or to meet with his colleagues for advice. That is completely logical, said Frederick van Zyl Slabbert. But there is another aspect to this logic. Nelson Mandela, as no one else, could play his role in the event of the lifting of the state of emergency, other political prisoners being released, and the troops withdrawal from African villages.

Let us hope that, in the very near future, the citizens of South Africa have another sensation waiting for them—the government sitting down at the table for talks with the ANC, or, as it was stressed in the excerpt of Nelson Mandela's statement which public pressure forced the government to publish, the way to a peaceful solution to the problem lies solely through talks between the government and the democratic movement, first of all, with the African National Congress.

Commentary Supports ANC Role in Negotiations
MB1407185789 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa
1900 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Commentary by Mikhail Tsirolov—read by announcer]

[Text] On Wednesday [12 July], a statement by the African National Congress, ANC, of South Africa leader Mr Nelson Mandela was broadcast on talks he held last week with President Pieter Botha.

It is better now than [words indistinct] this is the only way to briefly describe the South African Government's decision to broadcast Nelson Mandela's statement on his talks with the president. It was indeed a notable event in

itself in the history of the South African Government to have the leader of a staunchly antiapartheid organization holding talks with the head of government.

According to this country's laws, anything said by Mandela cannot be broadcast. The exception to the rule was once in 1985 when his daughter Zinzi was given permission to read a letter at a public gathering, in which her father stated that he would not accept government's offer of release with the precondition that he renounce the armed struggle of the African National Congress.

But times do change, even in South Africa, where political change is slow and difficult. The government's information sources have not confirmed whether or not the prison authorities shortened Mandela's original message; however, it is obvious that the message contains the gist of his own opinion. As in the past, Mandela has announced that his release from prison is secondary in importance to the speedy resolution of South Africa's problems, and for this to really get off the ground talks should begin with the ANC. This organization is as yet banned in South Africa. Mandela said he would happily be part of those who will help in peaceful redress of the situation in the country. For this to happen, he should be released. Informed sources say he might be released after the September elections, that Pieter Botha did well to see Mandela at a time when he is preparing to retire, and this will go down in the annals of history as a sign of genuine change and the softening of attitudes in government. Mandela's actual release is, however, rather linked with the future president, Frederick de Klerk.

We wish to remind our listeners that Mandela's release was a major topic in his talks with Western leaders recently. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has said she has no intention to visit South Africa while Nelson Mandela is behind bars. In her talks with a correspondent of Paris publication LE MONDE she said there is not a single black person in South Africa who would agree to talks with the Pretoria regime while Mandela is in prison.

South Africa is back on the road to political reform, but there will not be much progress without Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC and other antiapartheid organizations that are insisting on equitable representation in possible talks. The ANC is ready for talks, and the ball is now in the government's court.

East Europe

Romania's Ceausescu Discusses Pact Meeting
*LD1407090989 Moscow TASS in English 0726 GMT
14 Jul 89*

[Text] Bucharest July 14 TASS—Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed the importance of the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee [PCC] in Bucharest.

Speaking at a plenum of the National Council of Romanian Workers, he said the meeting had revealed the socialist countries' determination to fight for disarmament, conventional and nuclear arms cuts and the establishment of new relations based on the total equality of all nations.

He described the document "For a Stable and Secure Europe Free from Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for a Substantial Reduction of Armed Forces, Arms and Military Spending" and the communique adopted at the PCC meeting as an appeal to NATO countries and other states to unite their actions in the interests of all peoples and peace, establish a new policy of total equality and guarantee free and independent development to peoples.

Romania is determined to continue its contribution to disarmament, seeking the elimination of all nuclear and chemical weapons and radical conventional arms cuts, because such a policy is in line with the interests of the Romanian people and the whole world, Ceausescu said.

Romanian Central Committee Plenum Reported
*PM0507142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jun 89 Second Edition p 7*

[TASS report: "Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Jun—As has been reported, a Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee plenum was held 27-28 June in Bucharest.

RCP Secretary General N. Ceausescu delivered a big speech at the plenum. He noted that the plenum had discussed the program, directives, theses, and political organization measures in connection with the preparations for and holding of the next RCP Congress 20-25 November. The speaker dwelt in detail on questions of the republic's socioeconomic development, stressing that during the years of building socialism production forces in industry and agriculture have grown considerably and the national income has increased more than fortyfold. He pointed out that only socialism could have brought about these achievements. Romania considers that the refinement of the development of socialism should be implemented not from the positions of discrediting and belittling the forces of socialism, but from positions of consolidating the strength and superiority of the socialist system.

Touching on CEMA activity, N. Ceausescu said that the existing CEMA framework and principles are a good basis for the future development of cooperation. As for Romania's membership in the Warsaw Pact and the strengthening of collaboration with the Warsaw Pact countries' armies, we will continue, the speaker said, to contribute to the improvement and development of this collaboration, while at the same time advocating the simultaneous disbandment of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

In the international section N. Ceausescu noted the socialist states' important role in preserving world peace, highlighting the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Vienna talks on disarmament, and the cessation of a number of conflicts in various parts of the world through talks. Romania and the Romanian people will continue, N. Ceausescu said, to actively participate in the disarmament process, in building new international relations which will rule out the use and threat of force.

Romanian Economic Problems Highlighted
18070682 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA special correspondents V. Vedrashko and V. Sharov: "Time To Build Bridges"]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 July—A detour appeared recently in the vicinity of the village of Copceni, on the high-speed segment of the Bucharest-South highway. A multi-lane overpass is being erected at present where a small old bridge used to connect the two banks of the Arges. The days of the river are also numbered. Its widened and deepened bed will become a navigable canal almost 80 km long, which will link the capital with the Danube, and through it with the Black Sea.

The canal is being built by the entire country. The pace of work is impressive. The economic benefits of the canal are expected to be perceptible. The day is not far away when craft of the "river-sea" class will carry the products of the plants and factories of the capital to various corners of the world. This bridge across the river is not the largest and the most difficult construction project in the country. However, it appears to us that it can be the symbol of the processes which are under way in the republic at present. Through persistent labor, the Romanian people led by the communist party are striving to take their motherland to a new stage of development on the way toward socialism and progress.

It is the time to quicken the pace, to eliminate obstacles, to build reliable bridges to the future.... This is today's Romania.

A plenum of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee held in late June attempted to provide answers to many current questions associated with the movement forward. It discussed the directive program of socioeconomic development, the theses and political-organizational measures associated with preparations for the regular 14th RCP Congress. The documents adopted by the plenum map out prospective directions for the development of Romanian society until the year 2000 and beyond.

Plans and programs developed by the party are based on the considerable potential created by previous generations in the postwar period. Here are some of the data which we have taken from the statistical review prepared

by the CEMA Secretariat in conjunction with the 40th anniversary of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. In terms of the most important indicators, Romania ranks the fourth among member countries of the council in electricity generation and coal production, and second in producing metal-cutting machine tools and chemical and synthetic fibers. This list is far from complete. The Socialist Republic of Romania is at the top of the list in many kinds of products.

It was noted at the June plenum of the RCP Central Committee that the rate of development has been sufficiently high in the current 5-year plan as well. Industrial production has grown by 5 percent a year, and in the first 6 months of 1989 the growth rate was 6 percent.

Agriculture merits special consideration. As was said from the podium of the plenum, in the current 5-year plan the average annual grain harvest has been 30 million tonnes. It is easy to calculate that amounts to 1.3 tonnes per capita. Among other socialist countries, only Hungary has attained this level. The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic are among the top five states in the world with respect to this indicator. Industries have been created which supply the necessary machinery and mineral fertilizers to rural areas. Scientists-selectionists have made a great contribution.

As we can see, the pace of Romania is energetic. Why then do we encounter in the speeches of various party and state functionaries dissatisfaction with what has been done, a critical evaluation of the economic situation in the country? There is an explanation for this. For a long time now, the population of the country has not been receiving a sufficient amount of foodstuffs and industrial manufactures. Lines, the infamous short supply, ration-card distribution of the main kinds of foodstuffs, strict conservation of fuel and energy, at times at the expense of the interests of people—this is the reality of present-day Romania.

The causes of this situation should, perhaps, be sought where other socialist countries look for the root of difficulties as well—in shortcomings and errors of planning, cadre policy, the inflexibility of the economic mechanism, and so on. Let us dwell on one of them, about which much has been written and said here recently—the destructive influence of the foreign debt burden on the economy and social policy.

How the Socialist Republic of Romania turned out to be in a debt trap is a separate topic. Let us recall in this instance that in mid-April the leadership of Romania made a sensational declaration: "The debt has been paid." This, however, came at a heavy price! From 1975 on, \$21 billion had to be paid to creditors, including \$7 billion in interest alone. This could not help but influence the standard of living and the way in which the urgent needs of the people were met.

Recently, the Romanian press quoted interesting data on the foreign trade balance of the country. The emphasis on repaying the debt as fast as possible prompted making exports a priority. Since 1981, the merchandise trade of Romania has had a positive balance. That year it came to \$300 million, whereas in 1988 it came to \$4 billion.

An opportunity is now available to spend the hard currency in order to solve acute socioeconomic problems. Many such problems have accumulated. The modernization of production and the implementation of social programs are to be accelerated. In 1988, the raising of salaries and retirement benefits by respectively 10 and 8 percent began.

As the Romanian press has reported, conditions have now appeared to complete this campaign 1 month sooner than planned. Confidence that by 1995 the housing problem in urban areas will be successfully solved has increased.

Hopes, hopes...for them to become reality, one needs to work hard.

The city of Satu-Mare is a major county seat in the north of the country. Major industrial enterprises known in the country operate here. The 23 August plant that produces gas cooking ranges is one of them.

At the administration offices of the plant, they told us that the first several thousand gas cooking ranges left the assembly line here in the early 1950's. Later, modern technological lines were installed in the shops, the purchase of which in the West cost more than 250 million currency lei.

The 3,000-member collective was given the task of exporting as much as possible. The collective was up to this task. The plant is delivering dozens of types of ranges to the convertible-currency markets. Its products are known in the USSR. In 1988 alone, we purchased 246,000 gas ranges in Satu Mare.

Export. At present, this word determines the fate of dozens of Romanian enterprises. The best furniture, the best footwear, the best cars go abroad.... Labor collectives receive special bonuses for manufacturing products which are competitive in the foreign market.

Here is one more address for instructive practices—the experimental farm in Fundulea. We traveled there on a hot July day, and the heat was matched by the tempo of work in rural areas. A field with fresh stubble stretching to the edge of the forest rolled by outside the car window. Barley has been harvested there—an excellent harvest of it.

At the experimental farm, they showed us the latest accomplishments in the field of corn selection. The F-320 hybrid is the pride of the collective. All of its features meet the highest requirements—yields, kernel

protein content, maturation time, resistance to disease and pests. It is a good predecessor for winter crops, which is also important for the farmer.

In Satu Mare, in Fundulea, wherever we talked to Romanian friends, it was noted everywhere that the rate of party membership is very high in labor collectives. Frequently, it comes to approximately one-third of all those employed. Party organizations are improving their activities in an effort to be up to the present tasks. Special attention is paid to the selection of cadres—honest, diligent, capable of leading people and bringing them up in the spirit of what they call here revolutionary determination. The leadership of the country also attaches much significance to improving the work of all elements of the party and state apparatus. Thus, a need was recently noted to step up the work of special commissions of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania that are in charge of individual directions of development of the country.

The June Central Committee plenum set the date for convening the 14th RCP Congress at the end of November of this year. Preparations for the congress determine to an increasing degree the ideological and organizational activities of the party, which now numbers over 3.6 million people, of whom 55 percent are workers. The Central Committee has set the task of ensuring the nomination of party cadres from among the toilers up to the Central Committee and the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee in the course of the forthcoming reports-and-elections campaign. The presence of a worker majority in the leading organs is a guarantee of revolutionary spirit and a resolute pace of socialism. The reports and elections will be held in the spirit of further reinforcement of intraparty democracy. In keeping with the RCP regulations, the number of proposed deputies for party organs at all levels should, as a rule, be no less than three per slot, and their candidacies should be widely discussed in the party organizations and collectives. In the next few years, the Communists of Romania are to solve difficult tasks concerning the development of society, the political superstructure, and the economic base. The processes which have essentially spread throughout the entire socialist world influence their search and their creative activities. The interest of the toilers of the country in restructuring in the USSR is great. At the same time, the public of the Socialist Republic of Romania is not unanimous in its assessment of the complex and on occasion contradictory phenomena and events occurring in fraternal states.

It appears that it is not necessary to open a discussion now on all issues in dispute. Diverging views and evaluations confirm yet again that no one party, no one leader has a monopoly right to the truth. It is born in the struggle of opinions. It is "examined" and confirmed by practice.

The life of the capital of Romania is focused on the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states which begins on 7 July. The

avenues and squares of Bucharest are adorned with the flags of seven socialist countries—Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia. Aircraft delivering their delegations landed one after the other at Otopeni Airport. M.S. Gorbachev and other members of the Soviet delegation arrived here in the evening from Strasbourg after completing an official visit to France.

In keeping with the practice which has emerged, meetings of the Political Consultative Committee are held with the participation of the highest party and state leaders and heads of government. This makes it possible to make political decisions in matters of principle and propose major joint initiatives in the international forum.

The Warsaw Pact Organization, created as a defensive shield in order to counterbalance the aggressive military bloc of NATO, has been in operation for one-third of a century now.

Those who like statistics have calculated that more than 100 initiatives aimed at arms control and the achievement of universal peace have been proposed at the meetings of the Political Consultative Committee. The proposals made by fraternal countries at last year's meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw concerning talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, protecting the natural environment, and other topics, also vigorously work for the benefit of humanity, for building the common European home.

Recently, positive trends have been increasingly perceptible in international relations. There is no doubt that the current meeting of the Political Consultative Committee will make a contribution to affirming and developing these trends.

The Bucharest meeting is the focus of attention of the world public. Dozens of correspondents of major agencies, newspapers, and TV companies have come to the capital of Romania. Two days of work on the part of the Political Executive Committee are in store for them.

Hundreds of tower crane booms are well visible above Bucharest. Avenues and neighborhoods are being renewed in the capital. However, we return once again to the bridge built along the river Arges. There is a new development here. Recently a cutter was delivered here on a large freight flatcar, a real seagoing cutter, of which there are many in the bay of the Black Sea port of Constanta. It is waiting for the big water to come, and hurries the builders along.

Bulgaria's Zhivkov Cited on Restructuring
PM1007144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Speech by T. Zhivkov"]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Jul—The principles and goals of restructuring in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria coincide. We were able to see that during the recent talks with the

Soviet leadership and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, stated. He was speaking in the city of Smolyan at the traditional meeting with the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria.

Dwelling on certain questions of international life, the Bulgarian leader pointed out that in today's interlinked and interdependent world no state can resolve the questions of its development and security independently. It is not just the socialist countries that are currently restructuring themselves, he stressed, but all Europe and the entire world.

We particularly value our good relations with neighboring countries, T. Zhivkov went on to stress. And we will continue to do everything in our power to strengthen security, mutual understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans.

The Bulgarian leader briefed the meeting participants on the progress of restructuring in all aspects of Bulgarian life.

Bulgarian Spokesman Discusses Turkish Problem
PM1707112989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent A. Kapralov dispatch: "Contrary to the Vienna Document"]

[Text] Sofia—A foreign ministry spokesman has made a statement to BTA which says, in particular, that in recent days the Turkish newspapers CUMHURIYET, MIL-LIYET, and TERCUMAN have carried reports that the Turkish authorities are impeding the return home of a number of Bulgarian citizens. Bulgarian diplomatic missions are receiving complaints from Bulgarian citizens of the moral pressure and physical coercion to which they are being subjected to force them to give up their Bulgarian citizenship and the right to return to Bulgaria.

All Bulgarian citizens who go to Turkey, irrespective of the purpose of their visit, are being taken to special camps. There they are subjected to psychological processing, fingerprinted, and forced to make various statements, including declarations that they renounce their Bulgarian citizenship. The people in the camps are subjected to exhausting interrogations and have their foreign passports taken from them and destroyed, which deprives them of the possibility to return to Bulgaria.

The question arises, the statement says, of whether Turkey, which has signed the Vienna document, considers itself bound to honor this agreement. The Bulgarian public is concerned for the fate of its compatriots. We have information, the statement continues, that some Bulgarian citizens are looking for ways to return home illegally, which creates the danger of incidents on the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

Yugoslavia Criticizes U.S. Stand on Kosovo
*LD1507140189 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT
15 Jul 89*

[Text] Belgrade July 15 TASS—The Foreign Policy Committee of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly (parliament) described a supplement to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act as anti-Yugoslav at its meeting last Friday [14 July].

The supplement which has recently been approved by the U.S. Senate accuses Yugoslavia of violating human rights, especially of ethnic Albanians, and restricting the autonomy of the Kosovo Province. The committee said those allegations were not true and were harming the Yugoslav-American relations.

The U.S. House of Representatives took a similar move in early July. After that the U.S. ambassador in Yugoslavia was summoned to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs where its head Budimir Loncar expressed his concern over the move. Loncar said that the decision was unilateral and was interpreting tendentiously some aspects of the Yugoslav internal situation, and ignoring the essence of the Kosovo problem.

Loncar said that the United States was objectively acting in favour of nationalists and secessionists in Kosovo, which contradicted the claims that it supported Yugoslavia's sovereignty and integrity.

Czechoslovak Party Paper Cited on Charter 77
*PM1107155589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 8 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Czechoslovakia: Against the People"]

[Text] A desire to return to the times of the bourgeois republic or the period prior to February 1948, when the people under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] took power into their own hands, is discernible in all the statements of the so-called "Charter-77" and its most active members, the CPCZ Central Committee weekly TRIBUNA writes.

In an article about illegal organizations in Czechoslovakia, of which "Charter-77" is one, the weekly recalls that the raison d'être of its members is struggle against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. Claims that "Charter-77" is an informal, nonpolitical association whose sole aim the defense of human rights are merely a cover for its true, antisocialist nature. The activities of "Charter-77" have always been and remain antisocialist.

CSSR Paper Protests Support for Charter 77
*PM1107152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Against Provocation"]

[Text] Prague, 5 Jul—The Western "protectors" of socialist Czechoslovakia are at it again. The other day a transatlantic radio station broadcast the text of a document entitled "A Few Words." It contained demands for

official recognition of the antisocialist Charter 77 organization and its supporters, the granting of conditions for their subversive activity, and the elimination of trade unions and other public organization and calls for a return to private enterprise. The document was signed by many active members of illegal groups and a number of workers in art and culture.

RUDE PRAVO writes in this regard that it amounts to nothing less than appeals to sell out socialism. It is quite clear who is behind this and what the political objective of the anti-Czechoslovak actions of Radio Liberty and Voice of America are. They dream of overthrowing the existing social system in Czechoslovakia. One should not forget, however, that those who sow the wind will reap the whirlwind.

Czechoslovak Editor Views Glasnost in CSSR
*18070684 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 89 First Edition p 5*

[Interview with Zdenek Horeni, editor in chief of the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, by IZVESTIYA special correspondents N. Yermolovich and L. Kornilov: "'Altogether New Work'", date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Our interlocutor was born in 1930 to a working-class family in the north of Bohemia. He is a member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee Secretariat, as well as the chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union. In addition, he is a member of the Society of Friends of Hasek (in the Soviet Union his book "Hasek as a Journalist" has been published).

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] The level of glasnost at the first Congress of People's Deputies (and, in particular, its broadcasting on TV in full) prompt the mass media of our country to move up to this high level. Do you think that we should resolutely renounce stereotypes in covering the life of socialist countries, and show it as objectively and in as much breadth as possible?

[Horeni] This is a very important issue. It is legitimate and necessary to raise it. I will refer to my personal experience as a journalist who has worked at the RUDE PRAVO editorial office for 35 years. My first baptism as a foreign correspondent for our newspaper came in 1956 in Hungary. For 4 months I covered the events there. I remember how frequently the question was asked then by our readers: Why didn't you inform us sooner about what was going on there, about the situation emerging, about the condition of the party? Indeed, our information was lopsided; it proceeded only along the lines of narration about the successes of socialist construction, and did not touch on problems and sensitive issues. It could have been a factor that the Hungarians themselves did not write about it. However, this did not solve the problems, they were there indeed!

This is how I learned my first lesson: You must write truthfully about your friends, about socialist countries. However, in all honesty, the times did not always give us an opportunity to restructure our journalism.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Was this a factor during your work as the RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Moscow?

[Horeni] Of course. However, first I'll make a remark. We know each other well, all of us have long been addressing each other per second person singular. Why should we conceal this fact in the era of glasnost and truthfulness?

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] You have a point. In the pages of RUDE PRAVO it is altogether a custom to address people per second person singular, say, secretaries of party committees of all kinds of levels. In your recent interview with Comrade Jakes you asked your questions in this very manner, didn't you?

[Horeni] Yes, in the second person singular. This is a tradition of the Czechoslovak Communists. However, let us go back to Moscow, a quarter of a century back. So, I worked in the Soviet Union for 6 years. When I sent my materials to Prague, I often had to transcend the confines of what the Soviet press reported, though I based it mostly on the press, and the latter helped me greatly.

I lived at Kutuzov Avenue, close to the "Borodino Panorama." I reported on it when it opened. Later, a fire broke out there. I found out about it only because it happened close to my house—not from the newspapers, which kept silent—and, naturally, informed our readers. I was criticized by comrades in Moscow for this small article. I remember that one of them put it this way: "Zdenek, if the Soviet press has not reported it, it has not happened."

Now it is different. Restructuring is an historic event not only for the Soviet Union. Narrating about it is altogether new work. It is based on a qualitatively new level of the Soviet press, the glasnost level. This is work with the most lucrative prospects, when life is in full swing and when you do not have to smooth the rough edges. At present, I personally see the role of a correspondent in a fraternal country as follows: Collect, write up, and file all information, but do it tactfully and with love for the country in which you work. The latter is particularly important.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Do you like everything in the pages of Soviet newspapers at present?

[Horeni] Virtually everything. However, there is a reservation: The meritorious worker, the positive role model has somehow disappeared. Are we not going overboard in this instance? Of course, there used to be the opposite,

an overabundance of "positive characters." However, we cannot operate as a pendulum. Could it be that joy, inspiration, and, finally, scope are no longer a part of Soviet life?

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] This, however, depends on what is meant by the word "positive." After all, a person shows himself exactly in struggle, in criticizing the obsolete. In the absence of it, only angels are good in their own right. Certainly, the point is not to interfere in someone else's affairs or wash our common socialist dirty laundry in public. In this sense, we definitely subscribe to your concept of tactfulness and attention. However, the world is complex and contradictory, and bilateral relations of socialist countries do not at all always develop smoothly and serenely. Events of this kind cannot be passed over in silence either. RUDE PRAVO has reported on the conflict which developed in conjunction with the construction of the joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak hydropower system at Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros on the Danube, on unresolved ecological issues at the Polish-Czechoslovak border. It would not be that bad if the contradictions were restricted to the sphere of national economy and environmental protection. However, contradictions exist in the sphere of ideology as well, as suggested by a statement made by CPCZ Secretary Jan Fojtik and the response to it by Istvan Oesz, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. What is your position: Should there be complete openness in this sphere as well?

[Horeni] As I see it, we need to approach this from two points of view. First, relations between the parties are very important. You know, Lenin would not have written "The Childhood Disease of Leftism in Communism" had he not resolved to analyze the mistakes of his foreign friends (comrades). At present, individual parties, their central committees, explain to their members the attitude toward events in another party, another country. I believe that this is normal. This is by no means interference. This is one's own opinion.

Secondly, in RUDE PRAVO we proceed from the opinion that our main responsibility is to inform the reader. In the process, we subscribe to the principle that any form of interference is inadmissible in the work of a journalist. One should not carry on polemics proceeding from national or other motives. One should not use glasnost in a detrimental manner, thus worsening relations between the socialist countries.

In an interview given to MTI on 21 June, Comrade M. Nemeth stated that the Hungarian People's Republic considers evaluating individual stages of its own history its internal affair. Hungary as well believes that it is a quite normal phenomenon that evaluations of the events of 1956 may be different in every country, and this is once again their internal affair.

The main point in this matter is to approach the work of a journalist in a highly responsible manner. As Fidel Castro once told me: "A journalist is as much a political worker as a politician, and his responsibility is no less than that of a politician."

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Yes, but does this not mean that a journalist of a socialist country should definitely express the official point of view, and that political conclusions should be drawn from his articles?

[Horeni] Certainly, it does not. However, everything needs to be subject to political evaluation.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] It is known that in the CSSR, incidentally, as well as in the Soviet Union, a good many people do not come out in favor of restructuring and glasnost. This is particularly the case with history, its "blank spots." Allegedly, the denunciation of many dark aspects which occurred in our life would shake the belief of Czechs and Slovaks in socialism, in its foundations, and the image of the Land of Soviets. What do you think about this?

[Horeni] Restructuring is our common ship, though different discussions may erupt in different cabins on it. Czechoslovakia has its peculiarities. However, both in your country and ours people react to restructuring similarly: There are active fighters for it, there are those who wait, but there also are open panic-mongers. Incidentally, I judge so also on the basis of stenographic records published in IZVESTIYA during the Congress of People's Deputies, which have caused tremendous interest in our country. There also are bewildered Communists who are turning in their party membership cards for one reason or another.

Thus, a group of our Communists surrendered their party membership cards in conjunction with the publication of articles on Soviet history in the APN weekly TYDENIK AKTUALIT. This is how uneasy and angry they got. This is a fact.

However, there is tremendous interest in history. At present, RUDE PRAVO publishes more materials on the past of Czechoslovakia than ever—about Munich, Masaryk, Benes, the establishment of the first bourgeois republic, and so on. As far as I know, IZVESTIYA reported on some of them. We were guided by the historical truth and the interest of readers.

After the January 1968 plenum, much work has been done in our country on covering the "blank spots" in the most recent Czechoslovak history, on rehabilitating the prominent functionaries of the CPCZ and the state who have suffered through no fault of their own. At present, for example, the name of CPCZ General Secretary Rudolf Slansky is not at all passed over in silence as used to be the case; it appears in the press, in movies, and so on. Let me recall that Comrade Husak, who himself was subjected to unjustified repression, and subsequently became the head of the CPCZ and the state, guaranteed that not one of the active "rightists" who came out in 1968 will be arrested and thrown in jail, to say nothing of being shot. As one Hungarian comrade, who was recently

shown the house in Bratislava where the former CPCZ Central Committee first secretary lives, observed: "After all, a live Dubcek is better than a dead Imre Nagy."

As far as discussions on Soviet history are concerned, we follow them with interest and say: "The Soviet people, the CPSU have every right, and even responsibility, to explain their history themselves, which is a part of universal history. In this respect, it is very important that along with the polemics about the past, a reform of the political system is being carried out, and a mechanism of power is being constructed which will guarantee that what is being criticized now will not be repeated.

We have seen that the foundation for a new attractiveness for the world of socialism is being created at the Congress of People's Deputies.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] The next question concerns the role of Stalin, his personification, and his identification with the mission of the Red Army—liberator of Czechoslovakia. Will he still remain a pure soul in the hearts of some Czechs and Slovaks rather than a bloody tyrant?

[Horeni] Let us say that you cannot leave a word out of a song. This phenomenon exists. However, it is characteristic precisely of the views of some individuals. The CPCZ announced long ago that it agrees with the conclusions of the 20th CPSU Congress on the cult of personality and its consequences. At the same time, official Soviet documents and the wording they contain remain decisive for us. The latest are the words of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in a report on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Great October, which refer both to the contradictory personality of I.V. Stalin and to certain positive aspects of his activities.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Pardon us, but we hardly agree with you. However, the very fact of such a conversation is instructive. There was a time when it was believed that it is better not to start conversations like that with friends from socialist countries. It was much more appropriate to pat each other on the back, and raise toasts to tranquil friendship and peace. In turn, discord, arguments, or, God forbid, criticism should not by any means be present in either conversations or newspaper articles. Is this time gone?

[Horeni] It is going. The new society which we are creating is marked by openness, comradely relations between parties, countries, and governments, as well as people.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] ...Perhaps, a new "image of the friend"—a partner with equal rights, an interlocutor who is capable of both defending the honor of his motherland and respecting the sovereign rights and interests of another fraternal country—should become the foundation for our joint work in the sphere of propaganda and ideology. In a word, the sacred cause of camaraderie

should be rid of all traits of window-dressing and formalism. We believe that our mutual relations will only be reinforced and not at all weakened if we gradually get used to not taking offense at the truth, the arguments of reason, the desire to reveal common acute problems rather than sweep them under the rug.

[Horeni] I agree. Recently, we at the leadership of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union discussed plans for conducting yet another Friendship Month of our countries for the first time after the publication in IZVESTIYA (No 366, 1988—N. Yermolovich, L. Kornilov) of the article "Gallop Through Europe." The article was correct in stressing window dressing, formalism, and excessive "concentration" of the programs of the month. All of this must be corrected. However, we should not give up the heights we have achieved.

Incidentally, at the recent traditional festival of music "The Prague Spring," many RUDE PRAVO readers asked why Soviet artists haven't come. If I am not mistaken, they were not there, except for the V. Minin choir. I do not know why this happened. However, I am in favor of the following principle reigning in the environment of new thinking: When you acquire new friends, you do not abandon and lose old ones.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Now we have several questions entailed by this new image of the friend. Is public opinion in the CSSR studied in a sufficiently complete and systematic manner? How is it taken into account in ideological work?

[Horeni] In this sphere, indisputable changes for the better are apparent. Public opinion polls were conducted in the past as well, but they were not published. At present, this is different. Thus, recently the opinions of my fellow citizens on restructuring and some aspects of the political system were released to the public. A majority of them accept the fundamental principle of the National Front as a platform for developing the common political line of the parties, social organizations, and special-interest associations existing in the country, with the recognition of the leading role of the CPCZ. At the same time, the practical implementation of this principle in some cases is viewed as divorced from the needs and interests of people. Only one-third of the respondents believe that rank-and-file members of the National Front exert real influence on government or the selection of candidates to the supreme organs. As far as procedures for the election of deputies are concerned, 62 percent of citizens believe it is correct to elect from no fewer than two candidates, and only 5 percent are satisfied with the principle of voting for the only candidate. More than three-quarters of the citizens expect restructuring to solve considerable problems which have accumulated in our economy. Two-thirds believe that we should act faster, more radically, not through half-measures. To be sure, some are making statements to the effect that restructuring is a mere propaganda campaign.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Well, this is a familiar picture to some degree....

[Horeni] RUDE PRAVO also conducts its own sociological research. What do the readers rebuke us for? For publishing little criticism, for not always seeing things through to the end. For not paying enough attention to the problems of young people. For foreign coverage being better than domestic coverage.

Proceeding from this, we strive for the Czechoslovak citizen, our reader, to obtain information about events in the CSSR from our sources before foreign ones. After all, this is a political issue. We make the participation of readers in the newspaper more vigorous.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] Does opposition to the authorities exist in Czechoslovak society? What does it represent?

[Horeni] Yes, various groups have appeared which call themselves the opposition. They are outside the National Front, they do not recognize it, and do not intend to become a part of it, despite the National Front being open to those who want to cooperate within its framework. Recently, the Czech and Slovak ecological organizations, our "Greens," so to say, were admitted to the front. The admission of these organizations to the National Front is deserved and instructive. As far as the other groups of the opposition are concerned, of which "Charter-77" is the main and oldest one, restructuring is not their program; they hold bourgeois positions and dream of returning to the pre-Munich arrangements, to the political structures of 1938.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] All of them?

[Horeni] Except for one. This is "Obroda," which means "renewal," "renaissance." It consists mainly of the former CPCZ members who left the ranks of the party after the events of 1968. Its political aspirations run counter to the course of the party, despite the fact that they are raising, in a sense, the same issues as the National Front: human rights, ecology, and so forth. On the whole, the present-day opposition exploits the difficulties of development of our society and the shortcomings. The number of such groups is growing; despite the fact that their core is not that numerous, the existence of opposition in the CSSR still should not be underestimated.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] What are the reasons for changes in the CPCZ leadership (and subsequently in the government) carried out at the last plenum of its Central Committee?

[Horeni] The issue of renewal of leadership cadres was raised a year and a half ago at a CPCZ Central Committee plenum in a resolute and principled manner. In this respect, stagnation was registered in the past; there was no considerable rejuvenation or rotation. I believe that now there are considerable changes. Thus, in a year and a half 25 percent of the leading cadres of kraj and okres

party committees changed. The principle declared by M. Jakes began to be implemented: not to leave a person at the same leading position for longer than two terms, that is, 10 years. We will comply with it.

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] At the same time, people who have retired appear to continue taking part in party and state activities....

[Horeni] Speeches by Vasil Bilak at a Central Committee plenum and by Lubomir Strougal at a session of the Federal Assembly are the most recent and graphic examples of this. As I see it, both comrades made very pointed, and very much their own, statements. We at RUDE PRAVO published their speeches, one in full and one with minor reductions made by the author himself. There should be culture in personnel policy as well, shouldn't there?

[Yermolovich, Kornilov] There should indeed. Thank you very much for this frank conversation.

PRAVDA Correspondent Pays Tribute to Kadar
PM1707100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 7

[Article by own correspondent V. Gerasimov: "A Communist With a Capital 'C'"]

[Text] Budapest—Today, 14 July, friends, comrades in arms, and Hungarian working people bade farewell to Janos Kadar on his last journey. He will find eternal peace in the pantheon of the worker movement. He was a Leninist. A Communist with a capital "C."

In Hungary he gave his name to an era: the "Kadar Era." The lexicon of Western politicians and journalists has firmly incorporated the concept of "Kadarism" and also the "Kadar model of society," which signified the Hungarian model of socialism. For almost 50 years Janos Kadar, whose real name was Janos Csermanek and whose code-name in the underground movement was "Swarthy," played a decisive role in politics and in shaping the social, political, and economic face of Hungary.

I saw him at close hand for the first time in 1957, when he was in Moscow for talks and I, a young radio journalist at the time, was instructed to cover his visit to the capital's "latest innovation"—the Luzhniki Stadium. The first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee, later general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the MSZMP, was always accessible to journalists. Whether he was giving an interview or conveying an article, the atmosphere was always amicable, equitable, and conducive to discussion.

He had innate intelligence, sensitivity, and tact, despite the fact that he came from a humble background. He spent his childhood in the countryside. He helped out as a swineherd and was given bread and lard in return for his labors. Until the end of his life he kept the peasant

habit of breakfasting on bread and lard in the morning. We journalists also noted this during our trips with him. He succeeded in graduating from the fourth grade in primary school and the fourth grade in non-classical secondary school by working to earn extra money every day. Eventually he became skilled in the repair of typewriters but was soon unemployed. These were the difficult years of economic crisis, at the end of the twenties and beginning of the thirties, when approximately half of the workers found themselves out of work.

Today there are forces in Hungary which are trying to "rehabilitate" and embellish the regime of the dictator Horthy, forgetting the bloody battles of the unemployed at the barricades, the executions of Communists, the shooting of miners, and the flood of 100,000 emigrants. The life of Janos Kadar, full of risk and struggle, who, at the age of 17, embarked on the path of serving his people and the working class, serves as an illustration of that period. As a member of the underground, he was arrested for the first time in 1931, but the police did not know anything about him and so he was soon released. But there were more arrests later and prison sentences.

"I think I ceased to be a child and really became a Communist when I fell into the hands of the class enemy for the first time: The savage brutality of Horthy's detectives, prosecutors, judges, and jailers and, at the same time, their open fear of us finally convinced me that I was on the right path," he was later to recall.

His "universities" came under the canopy of the "black list": No one would employ him in permanent work and so he subsisted on temporary jobs—first as an unskilled laborer, then laying roads, then repairing umbrellas. But Kadar read a great deal and took great interest in party affairs and...chess.

"A chess player masters the elements of logical thinking and calculating options and grasps the principles of strategy and tactics." This is one of the entries in my notebook of Janos Kadar sayings. "And, finally, chess helps you to learn to properly handle defeat and victory. We know that both are a difficult science."

In his office in the MSZMP Central Committee building on the bank of the Danube there hung a picture given to him by a Soviet artist: "V.I. Lenin Playing Chess."

Defeats and victories. Life did not deprive Janos Kadar of either. These days the Hungarian mass media has been carrying a lot of material about him. It has not all been positive.

He was involved in the resistance movement in the war years and in the titanic work to restore order in liberated Budapest. He felt bitter and disappointed when he was arrested by "his own people" on the basis of a slanderous

accusation in 1951. Following the death of Stalin, Janos Kadar was rehabilitated and soon held high positions in the party and state. The tragic autumn of 1956 was a turning point in his life.

You cannot get around or skip over autumn 1956. Was it a popular uprising or a counterrevolution? For Janos Kadar, who worked for the creation of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government to counter the government of Imre Nagy, for these 30-odd years there was no concept other than counterrevolution.

Now this formulation does not tally with the one proposed in MSZMP Central Committee documents this spring. It does not tally with the assessment of the role played by Imre Nagy, who was recently fully rehabilitated. But we have to understand the logic of the actions taken by this big politician, Janos Kadar, who assumed responsibility for the fate of his country in November 1956. He saw how young peasants and workers died, defending the radio broadcasting committee and the city committee. He heard the inflammatory speech by Cardinal Mindszenty demanding the restoration of capitalism. The deeds and actions of Janos Kadar were determined by the fiery march of history.

On 1 May 1957, 500,000 people from Budapest welcomed Janos Kadar—a strong indicator that they approved of his decisions and his program. Consolidation proceeded extraordinarily rapidly. He addressed worker collectives brilliantly and with conviction and visited villages. He was supported by the intelligentsia.

"Whoever is not against us is with us." This slogan by Janos Kadar united the forces interested in a peaceful, happy life. This man had an amazing ability to draw people standing aloof from the struggle for socialism into the circle of his friends. The words "mutual trust" encountered in his speeches usually signified new approaches and a new style of party work: The party had to win the people's trust again and again, every day.

The Hungary of the sixties and seventies was regarded in the Soviet Union and the world as a pioneer of renewal. A number of interesting, original methods were used in the management of its national economy. The "Kadar Era" in Hungary provided a series of examples of significance to the theory and practice of socialism as a whole. Janos Kadar also performed a lasting service in the task of shaping the Helsinki process.

The problems built up slowly and insidiously. Although the shelves in Hungary's stores are still full of goods (in any store you can count up to 30 different kinds of meat and sausage products, and Hungarian agriculture, which embarked on the path of cooperativization on the persistent initiative of Janos Kadar literally right after 1956, continues to hold one of the top places in the world), there are possibly more people dissatisfied in the country than satisfied. The potential for development has narrowed: Repayments on Western loans are eating up

everything. "We are aware that objective difficulties and the economic and political problems of the last 15 years have been intensified more than once by wrong decisions," Janos Kadar wrote in a letter to the MSZMP Central Committee in connection with his relinquishing the post of chairman of the MSZMP this spring. "The people and the party are now having to encounter their consequences."

Replacing the "Janos Kadar model" with a new one is not a straightforward process and not without its contradictions.

The mistakes of which he himself spoke and which are causing difficulties in Hungary are being subjected to in-depth analysis by the MSZMP. But the present renewal of the country is also gathering momentum as a result of the previous reforms carried out in the country under J. Kadar.

Comrade J. Kadar was a good friend of the Soviet people and did his utmost to promote the development of ties between the CPSU and the MSZMP and between the Soviet Union and Hungary and strengthen the socialist community's cohesion.

"I have never divided my internationalism and my responsibility to the Hungarian people," these were his last official words.

An honest, open, convinced politician with original ideas and a happy person with a spark of folk humor and wisdom—this is how he will be remembered. He was a Communist with a capital "C" and a great son of the Hungarian people.

Hungarian Officer Takes Part in Military Seminar
PM1207111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 11 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Borovkov article: "In the Context of the Policy of Renewal"]

[Text] The processes now taking place in Hungary scarcely lend themselves to a clear and unequivocal assessment. The introduction of a multiparty system, the measures taken to improve the country's economy, the interest in reviewing political events which occurred 30 years ago—all this is undoubtedly leaving its imprint on the republic's social life.

These questions cannot fail to interest also the Southern Group of Forces' commanders and political workers. The Southern Group of Forces Political Directorate held a seminar with the leaders of groups involved in the Marxist-Leninist training of officers in directorates, units, and individual subunits where Lieutenant General R. Gorelov, member of the military council and chief of the Southern Group of Forces Political Directorate, gave the report.

It is noteworthy that B. Stukalin, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Hungary, and Colonel E. Khauber, representative of the Hungarian People's Army Main Political Directorate, took part in the seminar's work and gave speeches there.

Polish Ambassador Calls at USSR Foreign Ministry
PM1307153589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 11 July I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to Moscow, at the latter's request. During their conversation they discussed some questions of bilateral cooperation.

On behalf of Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski, the ambassador expressed profound gratitude to the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Soviet embassy in Nepal for helping to save the life of Polish mountaineer A. Marciniak.

West Europe

Further Reported on Submarine Incident Off Norway
PM1707202189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[V. Izgarshev report: "We Report the Details; There Was Neither an Accident, Nor a Fire"]

[Text] Norwegian radio has reported about a fire on a Soviet nuclear submarine. It was unambiguously stated that the Soviet Union, for allegedly the third time, had not provided information about an occurrence at sea.

We have to disappoint the compilers of the report: There was no third time. And as for information, the Main Staff of the Navy adheres to a straightforward opinion on this score: If there is a question of radiation trouble, information would be provided immediately. No one in the Soviet Navy has concealed or intends to conceal data on what could present a danger to people or the environment.

So what in fact did happen at sea on 16 July?

Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, told us the following. One of the nuclear submarines was rehearsing planned training assignments in the Northern Fleet's combat training area. These included training assignments for switching to various power supply sources: the nuclear power installation, the diesel engines, and storage batteries.

At one of the stages of the exercise the organic protection system of the main power unit of the nuclear submarine was activated. The reactor was switched off. The submarine, as per instructions, surfaced. The diesel unit was switched on. The crew set about checking out the condition of the vessel's main power installation. That particular moment, when the diesels fired and exhaust smoke

erupted from the stern of the vessel, was noted by the Norwegian reconnaissance ship "Maryata" [name as transliterated], which had been shadowing our warships. It issued a report about a fire on the Soviet nuclear submarine.

Meanwhile the submarine's experts, having carefully investigated the situation, came to the conclusion that the protection system had issued a false alarm and that the main power unit was in perfect working order. It was decided to take power from it once again. But, as is known, a certain amount of time is needed in order to start it up. While the reactor was being switched on, the diesels continued to operate. Smoke continued to trail behind the stern of the ship and this was taken by the Norwegian naval scouts for a fire.

But there was neither an accident nor a fire. The nuclear submarine, having switched on the reactor, returned home safely and moored in its home berth.

MiG Accident in Belgium Studied; Results Cited
LD1407154189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0858 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Brussels, 14 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev reports:

The work of the group of Soviet experts who have been in Belgium for the investigation into the reasons for accident involving the MIG-23 airplane on 4 July in the region of the town of Kortrijk is nearing conclusion.

As air force Lieutenant-General Ye. Rusanov, the leader of the group and chief of the service for the safety of air flights of the USSR Ministry of Defense, announced, during the course of the preliminary study of the data from the objective control apparatus—the "black box"—it has been established that soon after the airplane's take-off, the afterburner switched off and the engine speed fell to a level below "idling." As a result the machine started to lose altitude. Under these conditions the pilot, acting in accordance with instructions, ejected. Soon after this the engine picked up speed again, however, as the film which was deciphered jointly by Soviet and Belgian specialists testifies. A few seconds later the defect in the engine's functioning was repeated.

The automatic piloting system kept the airplane from rolling, maintained the angle of climb, and made adjustments for the effects of the wind and other meteorological factors. For this reason, after the engine had picked up speed for a second time the machine continued its ascent until it reached a height of 12,000 meters. This system controlled the aircraft which, when it had used up its fuel resources, started to lose altitude. All in all the unguided and unmanned flight lasted 1 hour and 22 minutes.

Thus, a picture of events has emerged. However, for an explanation of the reasons for the technical failure a more thorough analysis under laboratory conditions is required. For this it is essential that fragments from the airplane are conveyed to one of the USSR's specialist institutes. The concluding documents prepared by the Belgian and Soviet specialists come to identical conclusions and refute the far-fetched version that the MiG flight was pursuing the provocative aim of testing the potentialities of the anti-aircraft defense system of the NATO countries.

The work of the experts took place in a setting of mutual understanding and constant contact was maintained with Belgium's Ministries of Foreign and Internal Affairs, Justice, and National Defense, Air Force Lieutenant General Ye. Rusanov noted. Soviet and Belgian participants in the investigation came to the same opinion that in order to prevent such incidents in the future it is essential to draw up as soon as possible a joint notification mechanism.

Vienna Mayor Interviewed on Ties With USSR
18070685 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Hans Mayr, deputy mayor of Vienna, Austria, by A. Kuvshinnikov: "Advertising: An Unnoticed Reserve"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] A delegate from the municipality of Vienna has visited Moscow. Our correspondent met with the leader of the group, deputy burgemeister of the Austrian capital Hans Mayr, who said that the purpose of the visit is to study the possibility of expanding Soviet-Austrian contacts in the field of economics and finance.

[Mayr] I am deeply convinced that in parallel with joining the European economic community Austria must not simply maintain economic relations with the socialist countries but strive actively to expand them. We see a special need for the Soviet side to acquire the habit of working under conditions of market relations. It is precisely on this that we are orienting ourselves in your country.

[Kuvshinnikov] But are you not looking too far ahead? For the market in the USSR is still in a rudimentary stage.

[Mayr] We are assessing the situation quite soberly and we see in it a constructive potential for future cooperation. Here, we consider our task to be accelerating the process of the formation of the market in the USSR.

[Kuvshinnikov] You are a political figure. How realistic are your opportunities for resolving economic issues? And how necessary is this kind of mediation for Austrian companies?

[Mayr] There is no doubt that Austrian entrepreneurs operating in the USSR need political support at home, for example, in order to resolve questions of funding for major or long-term projects. Moreover, one task for the politicians is to provide "administrative support" for companies, that is, resolve some non-economic questions that are hampering their activity and diverting their energy.

[Kuvshinnikov] Which companies, in your opinion, are operating successfully in Moscow?

[Mayr] First and foremost there is the ABV construction company headed by Leopold Bausbek. Under very complicated conditions it has insured fulfillment of a contract to build a comfortable ski resort in Gudauri, and it is now working in Tbilisi and Novgorod and plans to extend its activity to Moscow. In my opinion an almost ideal degree of mutual understanding has been reached between its leadership and the Soviet representatives.

The "Tsentralsparkasse und Kommertsialbank" plans to complete a major project with the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development [Zhilsotsbank] connected with the introduction of credit cards for accounts for personal purchases.

[Kuvshinnikov] I have drawn attention to the fact that Austrian companies are neglecting advertising in our country, including in the mass media. How can we explain this?

[Mayr] The fact is that we are interested in obtaining only foreign exchange profits, and this severely limits our range of clients.

[Kuvshinnikov] But now, when tens of thousands of enterprises have been granted the right of independent entry into the foreign market the number of potential clients with whom to conclude foreign exchange contracts has grown many times over....

[Mayr] You know that this is a new situation for me. Your explanation has given me a new thought that perhaps we had overlooked. When I return to Vienna I shall definitely ask for a special study of this question.

USSR Parliamentarians Visit West Europe Assembly
PM1807101789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation Visits Western European Union Assembly"]

[Text] Paris, 13 Jul—The official visit here by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation at the invitation of the WEU [Western European Union] Assembly ended today. The present visit by the Soviet delegation headed by Vladimir Kravets, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee and Ukrainian foreign minister, was a return visit: West

European parliamentarians from the WEU visited the Soviet Union for the first time in April 1987 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the present visit there was a detailed exchange of opinions on questions of improving the international situation and disarmament and on various aspects of the concept of the common European home. The sides expressed satisfaction at the growing role of parliaments in the strengthening of peace and the development of the CSCE process in all its dimensions. An accord was reached to continue dialogue on problems of European security in accordance with a timetable which will be drawn up by a special committee on communications. It

is planned to hold meetings between parliamentary delegations at least once a year in Paris and Moscow alternately. By mutual agreement, exchanges of opinions will be limited to the military-political aspects of European security.

The sides spoke in favor of the success of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and the talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

There was mention of the possibility of involving in the dialogue between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the WEU Assembly the representatives of parliaments from other countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact and NATO who expressed such a desire.

Political & Social

Ethnic Clashes Continue in Abkhazia

Resorts Reportedly Unaffected

LD1707161689 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Sukhumi July 17 GRUZINFORM-TASS—Sanatoriums, guest homes, children's summer camps, holiday centres and tourism camps in Abkhazia are functioning as normal, despite the complicated social and political situation in this autonomous republic which is part of Georgia.

The weather is hot and the Black Sea beaches are filled with vacationers. For the excursion service, too, it is business as usual.

Special firms take care of those coming here without having reserved accommodation at hotels and rest homes, by helping them find rooms to let, making food-service arrangements, buying railway and air tickets, and providing paid medical and other services.

Although there arose difficulties during the past few disquieting days with food supplies to some public catering outlets and sanatorium canteens, everything is being done to overcome them.

Railway and air services also were complicated, but transport workers intend to restore normal rail and air traffic in keeping with the respective schedules within the next few days.

Population 'Demanding' Curfew

PM1807102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[N. Gogol and A. Chernenko report: "Complex Situation. Events in Abkhazia"]

[Text] Sochi, 17 Jul—There have been dozens of telephone calls and cables... Children's parents came to PRAVDA yesterday. "What is happening in Abkhazia?" Is the security of vacationers, children off to pioneer camps, and tourists guaranteed?"

It is a complex situation. It is already known that 14 people have died in the interethnic conflicts that have arisen and no less than 150 have been injured. Extremists have succeeded in carrying out a number of attacks on municipal and rayon militia departments in western Georgia.

We were told at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center that one group infiltrated a remand detention center in the city of Zugdidi and freed 180 people who are under investigation. In addition 18 pistols and 16 submachine guns were seized. Attacks on militia

subunits and paramilitary security forces aimed at capturing their weapons have been recorded in the cities of Sukhumi, Gudauta, Ochamchira, Gagra, and others. Rioting mobs have stopped vehicles and beaten up the passengers. Shots have been fired at personal transport.

In connection with the events in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic the Transcaucasian Railroad has halted trains bound for areas in this republic. Many passenger trains with thousands of people on board bound for the seaside on vacation have gathered at railroad stations on the Black Sea coast. Passengers' dissatisfaction and indignation—which are natural in this situation—are growing because of the inconvenience and the increasing heat and stuffiness in the carriages. Party and soviet bodies and law-enforcement organs in Krasnodar Krai have assumed the onerous burden of taking the requisite steps to organize food for the passengers, ensure anti-epidemiological measures, and maintain law and order.

It is becoming obvious from conversations with the local population in Abkhazia that the overwhelming majority is demanding the imposition of a curfew in order to protect the lives of old people, women, and children, and also the youngsters who have hurled themselves into the whirlpool of interethnic dissension.

3,000 Troops Arrive bat[TASS]

LD1807104289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0946 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jul (TASS)—There have been no mass clashes in Abkhazia in the past 24 hours but the situation remains tense. This was announced today at a USSR internal affairs briefing. Abkhazia saw clashes on interethnic grounds at the weekend. It is an autonomous republic which is part of the Union Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia.

There have been meetings, some of them attended by many thousands of people, in several towns and rayons. Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee spoke at one of them in the town of Gali. But not all of those at the meeting received his appeals for calm and stabilization in the situation as they should.

The normal rhythm of life in the towns of Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi, and in Gulripshskiy Ochamchirskiy and Gal'skiy rayons has been destroyed. Over half of all establishments, enterprises, and shops are virtually at a standstill. Transport is not moving and several passenger vehicles have been held up at airports and on the railway. In certain places damage has been discovered to roads and lines of communication.

A large group of detainees used the disturbances and escaped from remand cells last Sunday in the town of Zugdidi. By this morning 14 of them had been detained including 8 who gave themselves up to police.

Work is in hand to confiscate weapons from the population. It has emerged that many people were keeping unaccounted weapons without the necessary permission. In all over 300 hunting rifles and other firearms have been confiscated so far.

This morning the precise number of people injured and fatally wounded during recent clashes was given. Sixteen people had died by seven o'clock this morning. In stopping clashes four militiamen and four internal troops servicemen have been hurt.

Three thousand USSR Internal Affairs Ministry internal troops have been sent to Abkhazia at the request of the leadership of Georgia and Abkhazia as well as a large group of investigative workers to stabilize the situation. Yuri Shatalin, chief of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Main Directorate's internal troops and Aleksandr Logvinov, chief of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's Main Directorate for Maintaining Public Order have arrived in the republic to help organize the forces for maintaining order.

12 Killed in Clashes 15-16 Jul
PM1807101189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondent VI. Arsenyev report: "Situation in Abkhazia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Clashes on interethnic grounds occurred in the city of Sukhumi, the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], 15 July and the night of 15-16 July. They arose out of disagreements between the Abkhazian and Georgian sections of the population in connection with the organization of a branch of Tbilisi State University in Sukhumi.

Militia and internal troop subdivisions have been assembled in Abkhazia. All roads along the borders of the autonomous republic have been blocked. This measure is perfectly explicable following the clashes that have occurred between Abkhazians and Georgians. Twelve people have died, and more than 130 have been hospitalized. The leaders of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—G.G. Gumbaridze, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, and N.A. Chitanava—have flown urgently to the Abkhaz ASSR. Personnel of Georgian law enforcement organs are there too.

In the morning of 17 July the situation remained tense. The Georgian section of the population declared a strike. Militants, mainly from Gulripshskiy Rayon, where there are many Georgians, seized the "Apsny" Movie Theater in downtown Sukhumi, 500 paces from the party oblast committee [obkom].

Alarming reports are also coming in from Georgia's western rayons bordering on Abkhazia. Groups of armed people are heading for the autonomous republic from

there. There are cases of attacks on rayon militia departments, and weapons have been seized. In Zugdidi 160-180 people, including dangerous recidivists, have been freed from the prison where they were being held pending investigations.

"You will hardly meet any Abkhazians in the street in Sukhumi now," party obkom workers told me over the telephone. "Many of them have decided to wait until the events are over and have gone to relatives in rayons and villages, but thousands of vacationers cannot leave. The airport is not working, and the railroad is paralyzed by a strike of locomotive depot workers..."

According to T. Sidamoidze, Georgian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, the situation is nonetheless improving. The militia and internal troops are controlling the situation.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the Abkhaz party obkom, and the Georgian SSR and Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums and Councils of Ministers have expressed profound condolences to the families and relatives of the dead. An appeal urges the population to display prudence, common sense, and high responsibility and to assist party, soviet, and law enforcement organs in stabilizing the situation.

Bakatin Briefs Parliament on Events
LD1707181389 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT
17 Jul 89

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—The week-end interethnic clashes in Abkhazia, where tension has been building up for long, were sparked off by a conflict over the newly-created branch of Tbilisi University in Sukhumi, supported by Georgians and opposed by Abkhazians, Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin told parliament today. Abkhazia is a Black Sea autonomous republic inhabited by 94,000 Abkhazians and 240,000 Georgians, which is part of Georgia.

Entrance exams to the Sukhumi branch of Tbilisi University were to open today, but on July 16 mass fights were provoked in the city between Georgians and Abkhazians, leaving ten people dead and some 200 injured, including 130 who had to be hospitalised. Of these, two persons later died.

On July 16 the situation took another bad turn for the worse, as disorders spread to almost all of Abkhazia and part of western Georgia. Another person was killed and some 40 wounded.

Rail services were completely paralysed, as train teams went on strike, leaving tens of thousands of vacationers heading for the sea, including many children, stranded in trains, in oppressive heat and without water.

In some cases, airliners were denied servicing.

Bakatin said that there were also several attacks on local militia stations and security guards with a view to capturing weapons. A mob stormed a detention centre in Zugdid, setting free 180 inmates and seizing 15 submachine guns.

Bakatin said that the militia in both Georgia and Abkhazia put up very little resistance to such attacks.

he expressed special alarm about the fact that a total of 80 submachine-guns and 100 handguns were seized from militiamen.

There were attempts to seize 23 structures and facilities, including the Interior Ministry building, set fire to houses and set off explosive devices, Bakatin said.

The Georgian government and parliament and the Abkhazian leadership asked the central Interior Ministry to send its troops to the area to stabilise the situation.

Military transport planes flew 3,000 Interior Ministry troops and a large group of investigators to Abkhazia over the following 24 hours.

Sunday's night was relatively calm, but overall, the tension is persisting, Bakatin said.

In Ochamchiri, for example, large crowds of well-armed people, including extremists, are facing each other and provocations are definitely possible. It is also likely that political adventurers will attempt to take advantage of these events to further their own interests, Bakatin warned.

He urged Georgian and Abkhazian deputies to use their influence to help solve the problem. he said also that the troops were given orders to check violence.

The parliament instructed the Georgian and Abkhazian governments as well as Bakatin to take prompt and decisive measures to restore law and order in Abkhazia.

The Supreme Soviet also called on the republic's population to apply every effort to stabilise the situation and restore calm and order.

The parliamentary session called on Georgian and Abkhazian deputies to appeal to their constituents to settle contentious issues by peaceful means on the basis of principles of internationalism and friendship among Soviet peoples.

The Supreme Soviet instructed relevant authorities to do everything to restore rail services in the region immediately.

Commission Leaves for Tajik Border Rayon
*LD1807114289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1035 GMT 18 Jul 89*

[Text] Isfara-Tajikistan, 18 Jul (TAJIK TELEGRAPH AGENCY-TASS) —The curfew in parts of the territory of Isfara Rayon of Tajikistan bordering on Kirghizia is continuing for the 5th day. It was imposed after a major clash of representatives of the Kirghiz and Tajik population on the border between the two republics. A long-standing argument on the right to use land and water in a number of sections of the border territory was the pretext for the conflict.

As Mamadayezy Navzhuvanov, rayon commander and minister of internal affairs of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], reported, the situation in the conflict zone is fully controlled by subunits of internal troops and the militia. Isolated curfew violations have been recorded, however, no major incidents have been noted.

An emergency government commission headed by Izatullo Khayeyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Tajik SSR, which has left for the rayon, is carrying out an active search for a mutually acceptable settlement. A number of steps have been taken to reduce the acuteness of the issue. The interrepublican Matlochy irrigation canal has been completely cleared of the stones that were earlier thrown into it by residents of the Oktyabr village in Isfara Rayon. The irrigation water supply for the border state farm situated in Osh Oblast of Kirghizia has been restored along the canal. Talks are being conducted, involving the most authoritative residents, on the precise establishment of borders and determination of rights to the use of land and water on the disputed sections.

'Forces' Behind NKAO Unrest Disclosed
*LD1707125989 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Stepanakert, Azerbaijan, July 17 TASS—Interior Ministry troops are patrolling roads in Nagorno-Karabakh, preventing ethnic clashes.

The current extreme conditions require that every citizen display maximum restraint, discipline and understanding of the need to strictly observe curfew rules.

Plans by some to convene an unsanctioned rally in Stepanakert last Friday failed although people gather every day outside the city Communist Party committee building in Stepanakert and on the central square in another Nagorno-Karabakh city, Shusha.

In other populated localities of Nagorno-Karabakh explosive situations develop when hundreds of people gather for rallies.

The situation in the area has worsened dramatically at a time when the USSR Supreme Soviet are preparing to form a commission on Nagorno-Karabakh at the instruction of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

This can hardly be described as a coincidence as the disorder has covered a vast territory. The way the events are developing seems to confirm the existence of forces which are orchestrating not only psychological pressure but also specific illegal actions.

These forces do not want the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh to be considered in a constitutional way, seeking instead to destabilise the situation and disrupt the parliamentary commission's work, while the majority of the population advocate a peaceful, constitutional solution of the problem.

Interior Ministry troops, operating in the special area, are working hard preventing clashes and protecting law and order. Their presence no longer arouses people's attention here, although the occasional sighting of helicopters tends to turn heads, especially in such a remote settlement of the special area as Kelbadjar.

This is why a patrolling helicopter, which landed on a local stadium, attracted the attention of children. Before the helicopter took off again, the children were whisked away, so they sat on the stadium's stands to watch it.

As the helicopter began ascending, it got caught in a high-voltage power line and fell to the ground, killing eight of the children. The causes of the crash are being investigated.

The tragedy could have not taken place if troops had not had to be brought in to restrain the ethnic conflict.

Strikes Causing 'Deplorable' Situation in NKAO
NC1807095889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0200 GMT 18 Jul 89

[Text] The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was relatively calm on 16 and 17 July, although it is still too early to talk about stability. (Boris Nukretov), assistant chairman of the NKAO special administration committee, attributes the lull mostly to the active measures adopted by the special district's commandants office for the security [word indistinct] of the population. Local residents have also realized that the NKAO problem should be resolved through [word indistinct] and constitutional means.

Despite that [word indistinct] suspicion and expectations of a surprise development [words indistinct]. Many people in Stepanakert prefer to vent their feelings at the square near the party city committee building. Since the strike began 2 and 1/2 months ago, the square in front of the building has become a place where people gather to collect information, exchange views, and discuss interesting news items [words indistinct].

Citizens are refraining from rallies and street marches. At the party city committee building, meetings between the party departments and city soviet executive committee of the people's deputies are held daily to assess the situation in the oblast's capital and formulate speedy measures to maintain law and order.

The situation at Stepanakert production enterprises is deplorable due to the mass strikes. During the strike period this production branch alone lost R20 million. The situation is no better in the construction industry, transportation, and public services. Because of the uneasy situation prevailing on the roads in the southern regions of the oblast, which are no longer under blockade, intercity road traffic for passenger buses has been temporarily disrupted. As a result, flights between Armenia and Stepanakert have become more frequent. The USSR Supreme Soviet commission on the NKAO is expected in the oblast in the coming days. The majority of the NKAO population is pinning certain hopes on the commission.

Onsite Assessment of NKAO Situation Reported
NC0807153289 Yerevan KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN
in Armenian 20 Jun 89 p 3

[Report by editor Shdzors Davityan entitled: "A Day in the Life of Artsakh"]

[Excerpts] In its upcoming session the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet is to discuss the implementation by the Armenian soviet and economic bodies of the decision on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] made by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Government. On what concrete sources should the document specifying the present level of real assistance to Artsakh be based, given that neither in Armenia nor in the NKAO are such activities supervised and coordinated by any organ and given that the primary concern of the oblast's workers is a political solution of the problem?

For this reason, the members of the editorial board of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN decided to go to the NKAO to see for themselves what the concerns of that section of the Armenian people are in these trying, tense, and seething times. That is how this report on one day in the life of Artsakh was compiled. [passage omitted]

Inside the Stepanakert City Party Committee building there is silence. The employees are idly sitting behind their tables. There is nothing to do. No problems are being discussed, no practical meetings are held, no enrollments are made into the party ranks (how to enroll the strikers?), and anyway there is no particular desire to join the party.

They are dissatisfied with the Congress of People's Deputies because it did not debate their demands in depth, gave no replies to their problems, did not say anything about prospects, and did not outline the future.

The people do not talk about interethnic relations, nor do they accuse anyone. They want to be together with their blood brothers and want to feel at home on their own land. They are not even enraged when threatening and obscene telegrams are sent from the various regions of Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

Artsakh remains tenacious, impregnable, firm, impossible to subjugate, and proud. For 70 years, or even longer, it has persisted and defended its Armenian character and its independence. Now it is trying to convince itself that soon it will attain...

The strike is continuing in the oblast, and there is virtually no dialogue on solving practical problems. Only the reprocessing branches of the agro-industrial complex and certain subdivisions of consumer services are operating. It is proving to be very difficult to convince the people that at least some rail cars should be unloaded to help the aforesaid branches to function without hindrance.

As is known, the NKAO used to achieve high productivity in the domain of agriculture, though only an insignificant fraction of that output used to remain in the oblast. Today, there are no statistical data to determine the agricultural output level. One thing is certain. As a result of the drought, most of the crops are not being harvested. Massive difficulties have arisen in the agricultural service sector. There exists almost no organized distribution of provisions. This sector, like the others, is also crippled. To put it more bluntly, after 1,000 years of working on the land, the Karabakh farmer no longer takes any pleasure in his occupation.

What are the organizations, enterprises, associations, and party and soviet organs of Armenia doing to assist the NKAO given that the 24 March 1988 decision (no 371) of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and, in particular, the 26 May decision (no 310), as well as the later decisions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, are still in force? The issue requires concrete decisions and tangible assistance, otherwise you could quote thousands of individual initiatives.

We knew that the Armenian Communist Party Yerevan City Committee, Yerevan rayon party committees, and rayon soviets had plans to work in the NKAO. Therefore, we requested Ardashes Keghamyan, first secretary of the Mashdots rayon committee of the Armenian Communist Party, to accompany us to the NKAO to make an onsite study and assessment of the work being undertaken by his rayon. In addition to the first and second secretaries of the party rayon committee, the following also left for the NKAO: S. Ghazaryan, director of the Armenian Aviation Industry Trust; R. Begirsga, director of the No. 1 knitwear association; S. Pterosyan, party secretary; O. Zakaryan, director of the No. 2 "Azroshin" Trust; A. Stepanyan, director of the Tsida

factory; E. Balanyan, party secretary; S. Badalyan, the party secretary of the physics institute; M. Gyuleshyan, deputy director of the institute; and R. Chekmazov, the chief engineer of the Transcaucasian Pipelines Works Trust. [passage omitted]

Which is the most important issue today and what is the situation prevailing in that domain?

The most important issue is the creation of reliable air and road communications with the NKAO, as well as the rapid construction and restoration of local roads.

From the point of view of roads, the NKAO is under blockade nowadays. The main Goris-Stepanakert road is a road of trials, both in fact and figuratively. The longer Khazakh-Kirovabad-Yevlakh-Stepanakert road is also not a smooth ride. So far no draft design agreement has yet been concluded on the construction of the new Zod-Kelbadzhar-Mardagert road, even for the 25-km section of the road (Zod-Okdyaprkent-Kelbadzhar). What is more, 18 km of that road pass through Azerbaijani territory.

In other words, the construction of that road remains in the realm of ideas at present. As regards the repair of the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road, the 26-km stretch of it leading from Goris to the Azerbaijani border has been fully restored. On the other side of the border nothing is being done and nothing will be done.

Are air communications therefore the only sure alternative? Unfortunately, no. On the average 100-120 passengers per day can be transported by YAK-40 aircraft; freight and construction materials cannot be transported by air. No flights are possible in bad weather conditions because Stepanakert Airport does not have the appropriate radar equipment and gets such services from Akhtam Airport. Therefore, the solution rests in the expansion of Stepanakert airport buildings and in lengthening the runway to enable freight aircraft to land as well. The draft plans for this are ready. The Aviation Industry Trust could even start work at this very moment. However, the issue of the main procurator has not been resolved. (That should be the Union Ministry of Civil Aviation.) [passage omitted]

On the construction of other organizations: The Transcaucasian Pipelines Works Trust, under the directorship of Senig Gevorgyan, cannot be forgiven for not having started the work assigned to it, and the irresponsibility of R. Chekmazov, its chief engineer, defies imagination. However, yesterday the Mashdots rayon party committee declared that the aforesaid trust had started sending in new technology.

The roadbuilders at the "Haydranshin" Trust, under its director Feliks Firumyan, talk patriotism but do nothing. These two last organizations have not even compared their draft designs with the topography yet and have not brought in the technology needed. Yet half a year has been lost.

We have no doubt that the roadbuilders debate the NKAO's reunification a few times a day and make assessments and pass judgements. But today we need practical work. There cannot be any other sort of patriotism.

The NKAO special administration committee has made no contribution to a solution at all. No positive developments have occurred. The negative processes have become unavoidable. The oblast, deprived of leadership, is almost like a headless body. No integrated economic plans have been drawn up and the oblast's independence has not been ensured to any significant degree.

As was the case before, Shushi, the natural historical capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, is not submitting to the local authorities and Armenians have no right to enter there. The Muscovites on the committee are trying to solve political problems rather than practical ones and are acting as conciliators between Azerbaijan and the NKAO. For this reason, the oblast organizations which have somehow managed to survive are thinking of boycotting the special committee. The people are dissatisfied, as are Simon Badayan and Volodya Tovmasyan, the two Armenians representing the oblast in the committee. They, together with Valeri Atadkzhanyan, secretary of Stepanakert city party committee; Maksim Mirzoyan, chairman of the city soviet; and the NKAO's USSR people's deputies were scheduled to meet M.S. Gorbachev in Moscow yesterday. We do not know what the result of the meeting was. However, one thing is obvious. Henceforth it will be impossible to postpone the political solution of the problem. Otherwise, an entire people...will face suicide.

Why should the Karabakh people's most elementary aspirations remain a mere dream when even the African countries have realized them in the 20th century? Why should the restoration of the monuments erected by their ancestors, unimpeded communication with Armenia, the sending of delegates to the Armenian parliament, and even the preparation of wine from the grapes cultivated by hard work and the distillation of spirit from mulberries remain a mere dream? Already, the glorious churches of Shushi, the cemeteries, the bust of Nelson Stepanyan, and other wonders erected by their ancestors are disintegrating into dreams. The Karabakh Armenians also want Armenian road signs in the streets, in particular along that road which will cross the narrow strip separating the NKAO from the motherland Armenia. But, most of all, the children dream of growing up as Armenians. They do not want to resemble those refugees from Baku and Sumgait who speak a foreign language and as a result are having difficulties putting roots down in Armenia because they feel they are a transplanted element.

The point is that in this universe of dreams everything could become a reality if the following firm decision were made: unification with Armenia; or, at least, secession from Azerbaijan.

One day in the life of Artsakh is loaded with so many concerns, plans, and hopes, as described above.

Anti-Azerbaijani Activity in Georgia Investigated
PM1407105189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] A. Mamedov, Azerbaijan's minister of internal affairs, visited Marneuli and Bolnisi 26 June—Georgian regions bordering Azerbaijan—where, as is well known, a considerable number of people of Azerbaijani nationality live. He had working meetings there with Sh. Gogrodze, Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of internal affairs, and with the leaders of local party and soviet organs.

The need for these meetings has been dictated by the tense situation that has arisen recently in these regions of the Georgian SSR in connection with various provocative rumors about alleged mass riots.

Visiting many villages, the meeting participants had talks with residents of Georgian and Azerbaijani nationality and used the fact to dispel false and unsubstantiated provocative rumors. The talks and explanations were held in a benevolent form and met with support and understanding from the rural inhabitants.

At the same time, it was noted that certain informal groupings, disinforming the population of both nationalities, are trying to destabilize the situation, drive a wedge between the many centuries of good-neighborly relations between Georgians and Azerbaijanis, and cause riots. These ignoble actions are being properly rebuffed by most of the region's residents.

Azerbaijan Council Chairman on Resettling Refugees
PM1207150189 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 25 Jun 89 p 3

[Report by Deputy A.N. Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, at the Ninth Extraordinary Session of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, in Baku on 22 June: "On Progress in Implementing the USSR Council of Ministers Resolution on the Resettlement of Citizens Who Have Left Their Place of Permanent Residence"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! We all still feel the effect of the work of the first Congress of People's Deputies. And so today I would like to emphasize the tremendous and truly historic importance of the congress for our country's future. In the course of frank debates, it examined the most topical and vitally important problems of the economy, politics, ecology, and

social and cultural life. There was active and keen discussion of problems of interethnic relations and of nationalities policy as a whole.

In their speeches the majority of deputies expressed serious alarm at the exacerbation of the situation in a number of the country's regions. Attention was drawn to the need for wisdom, tact, and a sensitive approach when solving problems of interethnic relations. There were, unfortunately, some deputies who tried to inflame passions, put forward unjustified demands, and ventured to attack other peoples. The congress did not let itself be sidetracked along the path of dissension.

M.S. Gorbachev said in his closing speech: "We cannot tolerate the attempts by some groups to solve these problems and to 'regulate,' as it were, interethnic problems by criminal methods, scorning morality and laws, and at times embarking on the path of anarchy. We must follow a constructive path via democracy, glasnost, mutual understanding, cooperation, and dialogue."

We have adhered to these fundamental principles and will continue to adhere to them in solving the so-called question of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. I shall not dwell on the sources of this conflict, which has inflicted enormous damage on fraternal relations between our peoples, who have lived together as friends for centuries.

Today I would like to dwell on the important question concerning the most acute problem of migrants, a problem brought about by these events. There are in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] over 160,000 people who have been forced to leave Armenia. Our republic has a mass of its own unsolved social questions, namely the shortage of housing, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, and other social facilities and the large number of unemployed able-bodied people, and the problem of the refugees has exacerbated them further still. They all had to be taken in, housed, fed, given medical assistance, and found jobs or school places.

It does our people honor that this was done with great understanding and tact. Azerbaijanis arriving in the republic were temporarily settled in 51 rayons and cities. Our people's best qualities—hospitality and spiritual generosity—were displayed to the utmost in these extreme conditions. I would like, with all my heart, to address words of profound gratitude to the whole people and the many party, soviet, and economic workers for the warmth and concern they displayed!

From the very start of the events, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government unflinchingly monitored the situation as it developed. All the work with migrants was coordinated by a specially set up government commission and at the local level by working commissions comprising senior party and soviet officials. Last December the Azerbaijan

SSR Council of Ministers set up an Interethnic Relations Department, which was assigned the day-to-day solution of questions concerning migrants.

Efforts by virtually all ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations were mobilized to assist them. Over R27 million was appropriated from the republican budget and from local budgets, including R15.5 million for the provision of one-shot aid. The "Gaygy" Society provided additional aid worth R7.5 million.

Rayons where migrants were living were supplied with 30,000 tonnes of flour, 600 tonnes of pasta products, 200 tonnes of groats, 2,000 tonnes of meat, 1,600 tonnes of butter, 600 tonnes of wholemilk products, and industrial goods, clothing, and footwear worth a total of about R9 million.

All victims were given urgent medical assistance, and temporary medical centers were set up in places where refugees congregated.

The country's government did not ignore the calamitous situation of the migrants. Additional food supplies, prefabricated panel-board homes, trailer homes, and heated freight cars were shipped for their use.

Special attention was given to the migrants' 35,000 children. Nineteen schools, 300 additional grades, 25 extended day groups, 2 boarding schools, and 4 kindergartens were opened especially for them. The "Artek" and Feodosiya all-union sanatoriums offered rest facilities for about 3,000 children. It is our duty to ensure that not a single one of the children arriving here is ignored. Every school under construction must be the target of special monitoring. All schools planned for commissioning this year must be handed over by September. This applies first and foremost to the Ministry of Rural Construction. As regards the additional quantity of textbooks, relevant instructions have been issued to the republic's State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, and this problem will have been dealt with by the start of the academic year.

Concern is being shown to find jobs for migrants. As of today, 23,000 people have been found jobs.

Taking the prevailing situation into account, it was decided to allow migrants—as an exception—to exchange private homes for homes owned by local soviets, departments, and housing cooperatives. Thanks to this, about 12,000 families exchanged homes. Some migrants either acquired apartments or moved in with relatives.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government believe that their main task in solving the problem of migrants is for them to return to their former places of residence. We firmly believe that order will be restored and many of those who

left their places of residence will be able to return home. So far, unfortunately and despite our efforts, there has been no success in ensuring conditions for their return. It must be said that the situation in the Armenian SSR does not help matters. Many people refuse to return in these conditions. They justifiably raise the question of the provision of housing and compensation for the value of abandoned property.

In this context, there arose the question of taking more radical measures associated with the resettlement of all who have expressed a desire to remain in the republic and their utilization in social production. The solution of such a major and complex task, especially in the shortest possible time, is a far from easy task, especially bearing in mind the large number of people waiting in line for housing and the acute problem of employment for the indigenous population. This was why the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers approached union organs with the request that a special decision be made on the package of questions associated with migrants.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers showed understanding, and USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 321 was published on 15 April this year. This resolution is imbued with profound concern for the future of those who have left their homes against their will.

By way of a priority measure, the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR Councils of Ministers and the country's ministries and departments were instructed to assist the voluntary return of citizens of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality to the places of permanent residence they had been forced to leave.

With a view to promptly solving questions associated with the return of citizens and compensation for material damage suffered by them, there was support for proposals by the Communist Party Central Committees and Councils of Ministers of both republics on the formation of an interrepublic commission headed by deputy chairmen of the republics' Councils of Ministers and comprising representatives of the republics' party, soviet, law enforcement, and economic organs and public organizations.

Instructions were issued to local authorities, authorizing the restitution of returning citizens' rights. Specifically, it is incumbent upon local soviet executive committees:

- to ensure the restitution of housing previously occupied by the citizens, or the priority acquisition of housing from newly built or modernized housing stock;
- to reinstate returning citizens in their former jobs or, should they so wish, to offer them equivalent work and, whenever necessary, to give them training in new vocations.

Instructions have been issued to pay full compensation for any damage suffered by citizens. The commission is now determining the amount of compensation.

The republic's government was instructed to comply with recommendations by the interrepublic commission and to credit migrants with uninterrupted term of service for the purpose of determining social security benefits, to pay them a one-shot subsidy equivalent to 3 months' earnings, and, in the event of such citizens lacking the necessary documents, to pay them the minimum pension.

In conformity with the union decision, we adopted a similar resolution by the republic's Council of Ministers outlining specific measures for the former's fulfillment and appointing specific executors for every assignment.

We began by resettling migrants in regions whose climatic conditions are similar to those in the regions of their former residence and assisting them in the building of housing. A certain number of migrants expressed the wish to build individual homes funded by their own resources or bank loans. We strive to support such building projects. The land allocation procedure has been simplified to the utmost and we strive to clear any bureaucratic obstacles that might be in the way. Rayon executive committees have been issued instructions to allocate land parcels for individual housing construction to all applicants. We have gone so far as to allocate even arable fields and other agricultural land for this purpose whenever there is no alternative.

It must be said that the majority of rayon, local soviet, and farm leaders have shown understanding in this regard and have allocated land parcels. Unfortunately, this has not been done everywhere. Evidence of this can be seen in the letters and complaints we have received.

Today we issue a stern warning to local soviet leaders in several rayons who have tolerated bureaucratic red tape, and demand that they impose order in the allocation of land to refugees.

It is a matter of serious concern that there are more than 15,000 refugees living with families and friends without residence permits in the cities of Baku and Sumgait and in Apsheronskiy Rayon. They experience major difficulties and are deprived of an opportunity to work and keep their families. Unfortunately, many of them are unwilling to move to rural rayons. Some of them—and this must be bluntly said—are constantly to be seen in reception rooms and are even trying to destabilize the situation, especially in Baku.

We show understanding for their problems, but they must also realize how difficult it is to solve these questions in conditions of a most acute shortage of housing and job vacancies. We would like to see this group of migrants being more active in determining their own

future. After all, many of them are skilled in rural vocations and it would be right if they were to move to [rural] rayons and start working in their specialized fields.

Let me say for the record that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution for the purpose of restoring the economy of Altyagach-Khyzinskaya Zone in Apsheronskiy Rayon.

I think that migrants would be acting correctly if they were not to wait for this region to be fully developed, but were to personally participate in the work now being done there.

This most beautiful corner of the republic used to have 66 prosperous villages and 33 collective farms. There are many abandoned homes and farmsteads needing a proprietorial hand. According to our estimates, up to 25,000-30,000 people could settle there and find work to suit them.

With a view to migrants' temporary settlement here, it was decided to make and install more than 3,000 wooden cottages using the resources of enterprises in Baku and Sumgait and of the republic's ministries and departments. Today's newspapers describe the way this is being done by the Ministry of Public Education.

The resolution we adopted also defines other zones whose climatic conditions are favorable for the movement and settlement of migrants there. In addition to Altyagach Zone, they will be moved to the territory of a further five zones in the republic—Nakhichevan, Zangelan-Lachin-Kubatty, Khanlar-Shamkhor, Shemakha-Ismailli, and Divichi-Khachmas.

Much work remains to be done in employment for migrants. This acutest of problems has been approached with understanding and proper responsibility by soviet and economic leaders in Kirovabad, Sumgait, and Apsheronskiy, Agdamskiy, Geokchayskiy, Kubinskiy, Divichinskiy, Zakatalskiy, Khachmasskiy, Beylaganskiy, Ismaillinskiy, Kazakhskiy, and Kusarskiy Rayons.

But there are also people who do not give sufficient attention to migrants' employment and the solution of their social and consumer service problems.

Here we perceive serious shortcomings in the work of the State Agro-Industrial Committee's leadership and local organs. The overwhelming proportion of migrants are wonderful stockmen and vegetable growers. Broader use must be made of leasing, and families must be supplied with livestock.

It is necessary to accelerate the fulfillment of the USSR Council of Ministers instructions regarding the use of republican budget funds to pay subsidies equivalent to 3 months' earnings to citizens who have been forced to

leave their place of permanent residence. The commissions set up under rayon (city) soviet executive committees must immediately embark on preparatory work.

Comrades! As you can see, the USSR Council of Ministers resolution and the relevant documents on its implementation which have been adopted in the republic offer broad opportunities to solve the problems of citizens who have decided to stay here. We must make fuller use of the available opportunities, attentively solve every family's problems, and display utmost concern for every person.

Much has been done along this avenue, but much more still remains to be done.

Comrades! The republic's working people learned with great alarm and heart ache about the tragic events in the Fergana valley. Back in the past, Azerbaijan offered refuge to Meskhetian Turks. There are 18,000 of them living in our republic. A further 4,000 persons from Uzbekistan have been added to them now. In a display of compassion, our people are helping these families.

We need multifaceted, active, and consistent work by all party committees and local soviets, ministries and departments, the apparatus of the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ministry of Finance, and other organizations, the law enforcement organs, the scientific and creative forces, and the public organizations.

Briefly, Comrades, we all have a lot of very hard work to do to solve the most acute problem of migrants and implement the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on this question. We are convinced that, under the leadership of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's working people will cope with this task.

Yerevan Gorkom Plenum Replaces First Secretary
PM1207152589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
21 Jun 89 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom Plenum"]

[Excerpts] A Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom [City Committee] Plenum was held 20 June to examine an organizational question.

The plenum relieved M.S. Minasbekyan of his duties as first secretary and member of the Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom Bureau in connection with his transfer to other work.

The question of recommended candidacies for the post of Yerevan party gorkom first secretary was discussed beforehand at a conference of raykom [rayon committee]

and major party committee secretaries and leaders of Yerevan's industrial enterprises and higher educational establishments. [passage omitted]

G.Ye. Asatryan, who had been working as chief of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, was elected first secretary and member of the Bureau of the Yerevan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom by a secret ballot.

G.Ye. Asatryan, first secretary of Yerevan Party Gorkom, delivered a speech at the plenum.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a long speech at the plenum. He severely criticized the work of the party gorkom, its bureau, and secretary and dwelt on the main areas in the activity of the city party organization. It was noted that the party gorkom has been unable to take effective steps to normalize the situation and overcome the negative trends in the capital's sociopolitical life and to consolidate healthy public forces in positions of restructuring.

The appropriate conclusions were not drawn from the criticism heard at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September (1988) Plenum, whose results have still not been discussed by the party gorkom. The report and election party conference, where the gorkom's work was once again subjected to harsh criticism, changed nothing in the gorkom's activity.

Many fundamental questions in the activity of the city party organization have escaped the view of the Gorkom Bureau. There is a systematic failure to fulfill plans in both industry and construction. The commissioning of many social and cultural and consumer service facilities has been wrecked.

There are substantial shortcomings in the style of leadership of party raykoms and primary party organizations. They have not been offered effective aid in restructuring the forms and methods of party work and their activity is poorly guided and monitored.

The party gorkom poorly scrutinizes the social sphere. Acute questions of trade, transport, medical, domestic, and municipal services for the population are still outside its purview.

Comrade S.G. Arutyunyan dwelt in detail on the results of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the tasks to fulfill its decisions and talked about the activity of the deputies from the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. He devoted particular attention to the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Analyzing the progress made in construction and restoration work in the disaster zone, Comrade S.G. Arutyunyan urged the capital's Communists and all the people of Yerevan to increase their efforts to offer the afflicted areas comprehensive assistance. [passage omitted]

Moldavian Interethnic Tensions Profiled **LD1407100389**

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1356 GMT on 13 July broadcasts a 50-minute "The Party and Perestroyka" program on interethnic relations in Moldavia.

The program begins with scenes from a collective farm where people of many different nationalities live in harmony. Video shows new buildings in Kishinev and then an interview with V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavia Communist Party Central Committee. He wonders why there has been a sudden upsurge in interethnic tensions in this previously quiet republic. "What is the reason for this? I think that it is a natural process. Meetings, stress, bewilderment, dividing collectives up according to national characteristics—all of this, unfortunately, exists. All of this is a reality. To try to play it down would be misleading and the television viewers would not believe it when they watch this broadcast."

The announcer continues: "The Moldavian press gave its assessment of what occurred in Kishinev at the end of June. [Video shows a large crowd on the central square applauding a group of marchers carrying tricolor red, yellow, and blue flags. The caption reads: Kishinev, 25 June 1989] A meeting held by the Peoples Front on 25 June, sanctioned by the city executive committee, was devoted to condemning the consequences of Stalinism. But were those assembled calling only for national rebirth? The power of the people is higher than the power of the party. Freedom is not begged but won, stated the slogans.

"Yes, the issues of statehood and regional sovereignty are matters for the people. But is the square the place to resolve them? And are bourgeois flags needed for this? Much was said at the meeting about shortcomings, and reasons for the shortcomings in the center's policies. But for some reason everyone forgot that the possibility of holding such meetings, the possibility of openly expressing one's opinion about all problems, are fruits of the party's course aimed at democratization and glasnost proclaimed by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th party conference and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. [Video shows crowded square and meeting in progress. Most of the banners are in Moldavian; one in Russian reads: "Put national cadres into the top posts"]

"For over 70 years now the date 28 June has been celebrated by the population of the republic as the festival of the liberation of Bessarabi and its reunification with the Soviet homeland. This year the festival was

seriously clouded and, in effect, wrecked by the actions of extremist-inclined elements. Also wrecked was the solemn concert of the republic's leading artistes, planned to take place in the (Octombria) Palace.

"An unsanctioned rally took place that day. [Video shows rally, people marching with lowered tricolor flags, a placard depicting Hitler and Stalin embracing] Its provocative trend was shown by the placard reading: Celebration of 28 June is a shameful act for the Moldavian people.

"We strive to protect ourselves from the harmful influence of increased radiation or excessive doses of nitrates. But a much greater danger is the excessive concentration of bitterness and hatred in the souls of some people."

Pshenichnikov's interview resumes, giving reasons for the interethnic troubles. Social and economic problems create grounds for tensions. He continues: "Also, one cannot avoid taking into account the fact that in our republic grounds and reasons really do exist for dissatisfaction, or at least for questions to arise among the republic's native population. These include blank spots in the history of the Moldavian region which must, absolutely must be studied and the i's must be dotted, on all processes of historic development. There is also the procrastinated lack of solution for questions of Moldavian language development. Here, too, there are questions. In spite of the republic government Central Committee's decisions on the development of languages in the republic, all the same, their development and use are not in accord with today's requirements. The natural desire and striving of each people to have and to develop its own language is understandable. It is also one of the reasons for the ethnic tensions.

"Probably one should also take into consideration the fact that the level of development, or to be more accurate, the level of political culture of the population of our region, and not only of our region, does not totally coincide, or to put it more accurately, correspond with the level of democratization and glasnost with real life has brought us and which has been displayed to us in an unprecedented manner by the Congress of People's Deputies. Today, to speak one's thoughts and opinions openly and frankly is no great difficulty. Many people have made use of this and wish to fill the vacuum of dissatisfaction which has long accumulated in them. And extremist elements have surfaced as well as others who are destabilizing this situation."

Video then shows a meeting at Yedinsty woodworking machine-tools work where a Russian worker says: "I would like to say frankly that the nationalities issue is being resolved very slowly, very slowly. They are not adopting that handful, individual handfuls of decisive measures...Comrades Grossu and Gorbachev were too late in speaking out. They should have spoken when things were just starting up. A fire must be extinguished, comrades, when it is a small fire and not when it has got

a good hold. Then no fire engine will help." Other speakers at the meeting say that their multinational collective has worked harmoniously and successfully and that a handful of extremists should not be allowed to impose its views.

Pshenichnikov says that the party has embarked on a policy of dialogue and is actively going out to meet the people and retain their trust. He goes on: "Undoubtedly a rebuff must be given to those who try to present their own version of the main events which are taking place or of historical facts, who distort them in some way. It is another matter that one must get to the bottom of them. This must be done without haste, calmly and in detail, and no ultimatums should be proclaimed that, for example, 28 June was the day of occupation and not of liberation."

In a video report from the town of Beltsy, two teachers who are members of informal organizations justify the demonstrations of 28 June. A building worker says that all issues should be resolved with goodwill. A report from a collective farm shows people of several nationalities working together in harmony. They use Russian as the natural means of communication. In an interview N.K.H. Kostin, a reader at Kishinev University and a leading member of the People's front, tells how the Moldavian language was repressed in the past and needs active encouragement today in the form of a law on Moldavia's national language. He says in conclusion: "As yet we have no law on the language. But the formulation which will be adopted is of very great importance for us. If a formulation is adopted which says that the Moldavian language will be the state language but Russian will be the language for communication between the nationalities in the republic, we in the People's Front are convinced that this law will be not a law but a fiction, that this law will in fact be the cross on the grave of our language. That is why we are opposed to such a formulation."

The video then cuts to the Kishinev demonstrations on 9 July. Caption reads: Kishinev, 9 July 89. Video shows city square crowded with thousands of people, people chanting, tricolored flags, a banner reading: "We are not visitors, this is our home. A militiaman wields a truncheon, militia ranks stand on the side of the square.

The announcer says: "Things became heated in Kishinev today [9 July]. An explosion was avoided only because of the well thought-out actions of the law and order services. The city's central square was occupied by many representatives of the Democratic Movement with tricolor flags and the same slogan as at their own meeting a few days ago: Moldavia for the Moldavians, Down with the occupation. This they did before the opening of a meeting of the Inter Front which had been allowed to take place there. This is precisely the same way that they wrecked the celebration of the reunification of the right-bank area of Moldavia and desecrated the Red Flag. That was 28 June. It is the same today.

"The city authorities made attempts to declare the meeting a joint one, but no mutual dialogue was achieved. Those assembled whistled and shouted down the speech by Yuriy Vitaliyevich Blokhin, economist and USSR people's deputy."

Blokhin is then briefly interviewed and asked about the demonstrators' slogan: To the sea. He says: "These are the territorial claims on neighboring republics of the USSR. Some even want a return to the positions which existed before Soviet power, to the period of occupation by Boyar Romania."

Pshenichnikov's interview continues, with him saying that the republican Supreme Soviet will soon pass a law giving Moldavian the status of state language with Russian being the language for communication between nationalities. The measures will be introduced gradually via teaching in schools and will be on a voluntary basis. Other measures on national self-awareness will be discussed at the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The program presents reports from major industrial enterprises in the republic where party officials and workers discuss the problems. Pshenichnikov concludes the program by saying that all Communists must take an active stand on these matters.

Kazakhstan Unrest Traced to Social Inequities
18300720 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian 28 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by A. Samoylenko, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent for the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic: "Another Curfew Added to Real Cause of Events in Novyy Uzen"]

[Text] Novyy Uzen... A curfew is in effect in another city in our country. Certain of the mass media assure us that the situation in Novyy Uzen is normalizing. This conclusion, in my opinion, is premature...

And in this case (as in the Fergana conflict) the press has hastened to call the conflict "interethnic," one that arose "on ethnic soil," provoked by "hooliganistic youth" and "elements given to excesses." The Kazakhs of Novyy Uzen can hardly be accused of nationalism. And as though they had suddenly remembered something, they shifted to the other extreme and started to report constantly: "a conflict of groups of residents of different nationalities," "conflicts of opposing groups"... Where did this game of hints, innuendoes, and meaningful reticence come from? And why were they trying to lead public opinion to the interethnic cause of the conflict? Out of thoughtlessness? Because of the panicky confusion into which apparatchiks fall, as a rule, when they encounter an extraordinary situation? This is part of it. But there is something else as well. To speak the truth

directly and honestly would mean to unmask themselves. This is why the leaders of the city and oblast began to rush about looking for ways of assessing what had happened.

According to my observations, the Novyy Uzen conflict seems to many leaders to be a local event, an action limited in time and space. This is not at all true. Novyy Uzen is the development of a process that began in the Caspian area long ago. In any case, as early as 28 March in the shift worker settlement of Tengiz there was a mass fight between the local residents and the shift workers. Later in the shift worker settlement near Kulsary there was another clash between local residents and shift workers. But all this was described with surprising obstinacy as a "disturbance of law and order." Now there is Novyy Uzen and then Yeraliyev, and again Kulsary, the city of Fort-Shevchenko, the Mangyshlak railroad station...

As for the "nationalism" of the Kazakhs of Novyy Uzen, I am quite sure that this detonator did not exist in the city. The local residents are no less internationalist than all the Kazakh people are. Before the war and during the war years they calmly and benevolently accepted on their land hundreds of thousands of Germans, Koreans, refugees from the Caucasus, and representatives of other nations who were victims of the repressive Stalinist ethnic policy. And the entire world knows that during the years of the assimilation of the virgin land and the natural wealth of the republic it was invaded by trainloads of Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians... Is it permissible now to so lightly apply "ethnic" evaluations to what happened?! The more so since this approach to the events in Novyy Uzen does nothing to explain what happened. In fact, what sober-minded person would believe that out of the blue at 1 am the Kazakhs suddenly took a dislike to "people of the Caucasian nationality"—this is the version that was going around the republic during the first days of the conflict.

But, as the newspapers reported, those at the rally gave an ultimatum to remove from the city the people who had come from the Caucasus. The Novyy Uzen airport was packed with women and children. According to the figures for 21 June, more than 600 people had left for the Caucasus. This figure is increasing each day. Well what is this if not an "interethnic conflict"?

...In order to understand, one must know what Novyy Uzen is. It is fairly typical of settlements created at mineral deposits by mining departments. The city is only 20 years old. There are 56,000 people living in it. The city stands at the crossroads of all the winds in the very heart of the desert peninsula of Mangyshlak. The Kazakhs of Mangyshlak received not a drop nor a cent from the river of petrodollars. Everything was for the good of the people in general and the state as a whole. The elders of this area recently told literary scholars of the bright hopes they had linked to this petroleum opening up of their land. Twenty years ago these people had dreams

that their children would go to work in the oil fields, that they would earn a lot of money and have apartments in the city, cars, and healthy, well-dressed children, and that their lives would be rich and happy. For it is here, in this region, that the oil fields of Emba, Dossor, and Makat, which have gone down in the history of the establishment of Soviet power, are located. Who more than the modern youth should follow in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers! This is what the old-timers thought.

But the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry arranged for crews of shift workers to go to the region of Novyy Uzen from Baku, Groznyy, Makhachkala, and Russian cities. There would be no need to build either maternity hospitals or cemeteries. They fly in in pursuit of easy money, spend a couple of weeks in an adapted boxcar, and then go home. The city was born on principles like these. There were enough apartments for those who came. The jobs went to them. The groceries, dry goods, furniture, medical services—everything went to them. And the local people would get crumbs out of the generosity of the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry. This was the origin of those attitudes which we are punishing today with the curfew.

It never entered our ministers' heads that to extract petroleum and coal and to fell forests means to engage in politics, ideology, and interethnic relations. "We are miners, the masters of the wells and the city. We will bring in whoever we need. We will resettle whoever we like. And we will hire whoever we want."

The departmental dictatorship, the cult of branch profits, economic arbitrariness, and petty tyranny of the ministries—in a word, the principles of management of the bureaucratic system are absolutely interethnic in the sense that they cause equal harm to all—Kazakhs, Lezgins, Russians, and Chechens. The principles are not directed against one ethnic group or another. They are directed against man and his fundamental rights. It is vitally important today for residents of Novyy Uzen to understand this truth. Residents of Novyy Uzen (incidentally, they are certainly not all Kazakhs!) today speak bitterly with the despair of people driven into a corner about their bosses (including Kazakhs), about the trade mafia, about the speculative prices in the cooperative movement which has provided shelter for the double-dealers and intriguers, and about these kinds of people who have made their way into the stores, the sphere of services, and all kinds of bases. And it is important to understand this. They must not be thought to be only Lezgins, Russians, and Kazakhs. The double-dealer is also an interethnic concept.

Such simple truths, but how difficult they are to comprehend when the crowds are shouting, glass is breaking, and psychosis is running rampant... Will the prices really be lower because someone is driven out of the city?! It is necessary to break not one another's lives, but the existing state of affairs. It is necessary to restructure life

together and not check on the nationality of the worker at the base. The honor and reputation of his ethnic community should be dear to each person living in Novyy Uzen. This is precisely why those who run things in Novyy Uzen under the guise of cooperators, who play loathsome cassettes in the video salons, who get fat from the shortages, who parcel out food and apartments...these people should think about the social committee "Solidarity" (whose main slogan is "You and I are all Kazakh people!") that was formed in the city by refugees from the Caucasus. Only then will the interests of all citizens coincide, regardless of their ethnic group.

Novyy Uzen is not the most convenient place to live, but it is undoubtedly an oasis in the desert. This city has many merits which are emphasized at each step by the harsh land of the Mangyshlak peninsula. But today we are looking at another of its features... Novyy Uzen does not have its own newspaper. Until recently the residents of the city drank water from the Amudarya which was contaminated with herbicides, defoliants, and mineral fertilizers. Certain groceries here are sold by coupons. Sugar is sold by the...half kilo. And only workers get coupons.

The extreme social hardship is the cause of the unrest in Novyy Uzen. Naturally the target of the crisis was the social segment that was gaining from the misfortunes of the simple people—merchants, cooperators, and those who parceled out goods in short supply. And among them were many people from the Caucasus... Now in extreme agitation, one group set against the other, they shout: We built this city! The others answer: This is our land!

"Hooligan youth," "elements going to extremes," "extremists"... And above the crowds at rallies fly banners: Give us housing, work, food, justice... In a brief television interview an old Kazakh told about the fact that there is no regular transportation between Shevchenko and Novyy Uzen. A young woman told about how it is unbearably difficult to find work. A man about 40 years old reported that his family is crowded into a tiny corner while other people live luxuriously in four-room apartments.

Now that blood has been spilled in yet another city and one has been able to smell the notorious Cheremukhas, martial law has been established here too, and the leaders in confusion have moved the food and necessities into the city. And they tell us journalists: You will have to figure this out in detail, analyze, reveal, study... And the thought automatically flickered in my mind: How many more cities and villages will have to see bloodshed, pogroms, and curfews before our local leaders will finally begin to "think," to "analyze"? A heavy thought. A dangerous one. They will probably tell me: Why are you writing that?! What are you provoking the people to?! I will answer: I am not doing the provoking. The short-sighted leaders are doing the provoking, those who for years sit in their offices doing nothing and then when

despair, indignation, and anger drive the people to mass unrest, they throw in meat, canned goods, sugar, and also—pay attention to this—mineral water!... And others look at this "solution to the problem" and try to figure out how they can get mineral water and canned goods to their city.

The Novyy Uzen party city committee, the city executive committee, and the leadership of the Mangyshlakneft association have shown their complete ineptitude previously, but today they have manifested their powerlessness and basic cowardice. Degrading criticism is now coming at them from all directions. It is all true. But there is no need to stop at the names of the city leaders. One should also remember those who placed them over the Novyy Uzen citizens without asking their will.

The "fathers" of the city and the oblast were completely out of control of the situation in Novyy Uzen. All their "data" and "indicators" were dead figures. Take, for example, the city's housing fund. For each resident of Novyy Uzen there are almost 16 meters of dwelling space. An ideal indicator for the report! But the Kazakh population of the city is convinced—and this makes them furious—that there is no housing in the city. But what does this figure mean? Is it a misprint? Does it mean that they are living extra comfortably while others spend decades crowded into a corner?

Another question: How many citizens need jobs? Nobody knows the exact figures. What good are city leaders who do not know how many people in their city are working and how many are not, or how many people are living without a residence permit, staying with friends and relatives? Only now is it becoming clear that there are many hundreds of these "unaccounted for" citizens and, as a rule, they are young people without housing or work, without a residence permit, who are looking for a better life in Novyy Uzen.

A government commission is now working in the city. The section for cooperatives in the trade sphere has been closed. Competent organs are straightening out the numerous cases of violation of passport conditions, illegal residence permits, and distribution of housing in the city...

Ryzhkov on Ethnic Relations, 'Social Tension'

LD1807091189 Moscow in English to North America
1710 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] After the Soviet parliament approved the composition of a new cabinet on Monday, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov was asked by Radio Moscow to describe the current situation in this country:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] I think today's situation is fairly complex, Nikolay Ryzhkov said, and I can name a number of reasons for this. In the first place, social tension over the past few weeks has gone up considerably

as a result of the unsatisfactory market situation, that is a shortage of consumer goods, poor quality of services, and the existing problems in the sphere of money circulation. We could feel last year already that people's incomes had been growing faster than the production of consumer goods.

Today this problem has reached its peak. We had to take urgent measures to increase the supply of goods. With that end in view we drafted a large-scale program to boost this sector of the national economy next year. Specifically, the program provides for the conversion of munitions plants to civilian production. This is expected to invigorate the manufacture of industrial goods within a short time. But the food problem gives rise to still more serious concern. In fact, it's the number one problem in this country. If we fail to resolve it internal tension will persist. Over the first 6 months of this year we managed to increase food production by a mere 3 percent. For the people to feel a tangible improvement in this area the growth rate should be at no less than 5 percent.

Another reason for the current difficulties has to do with ethnic relations, an area generating profound concern. Conflicts have been flaring up here and there and there have been quite a few reports of lives lost. This can't fail to destabilize the internal situation. I am, for one, very much alarmed, Nikolay Ryzhkov said, by the jump in the number of strikes across the country. The freshest example is the strike in the mining region of Kuznetsk in Siberia. Of course, the region is facing many serious problems but these, I'm sure, should be resolved in full compliance with law. The use of force may only cause a further destabilization. We have to concentrate on constructive work, with a view to translating the resolutions of the latest parliamentary session into reality and making sure they don't remain on paper, said Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov when speaking about the present day situation in the Soviet Union. [end recording]

'Naivete' of Deputies on Ethnic Issues Noted

PM0607080189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 2

[R. Guseynov article under the rubric "We Learn Democracy": "Emotions and Reason: Post-Congress Reflections"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Nationalities problems can be highlighted among the questions most frequently raised by deputies. I will say right away that these discussions may have been disappointing to those somewhat rash people who were expecting that all problems would be resolved at once. But the discussion at this level helped, if not to accept, then at least to understand the position of the different nations and ethnic groups of the USSR.

No one at the congress said that we are on the brink of an acute crisis with regard to the settlement of national relations. But what more evidence of that is needed if acute national conflicts are inevitably accompanied by blood, fire, and death? The congress on the whole showed that even the most acute problem which sorely wounds national self-consciousness can be discussed and thus resolved by understanding, rational compromise, and restraint.

I couldn't but be surprised at the naivete of a number of deputies with ready-made prescriptions for solving the most involved national problems. They set out their positions on the most complex economic, social, and other questions in a sensible, intelligent, and skillful way, but when it comes to the nationalities question they seem to lose their footing as though walking on ice. Indeed, a politician must learn not only to be a good speaker but also to maintain a good silence. In seeking to make a sincere contribution to the solution of a particular question, often outside their own republic, they enraged some deputies and amazed others by their suggestions.

The tragedies on the Trans-Siberian railroad and in Fergana were a kind of watershed for the congress. Like a vivid flash of human grief they illuminated our many problems, including those of national narrow-mindedness and intolerance. It seemed to me that after we had all been shocked by the sight of the indiscriminate force of the fire at Ufa, which disregarded the nationality of its victims, and then the force of a different fire at Fergana, but this time a more discriminating and perfidious fire, it seemed to me that the speakers at the congress would be wary of rocking the boat any further. Unfortunately, it was all just as before....

Analyzing the speeches of the deputies who raised nationalities problems, I came to the regrettable conclusion that the problems of the USSR as a union and its future as a multinational state linked by common democratic interests were of true concern first and foremost to the keynote speakers, M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov. The speeches of most of the other deputies, however, often raised the question of the fate and future not of the region or republic which they represented but of their own nationality first and foremost. I anticipate a criticism here: When all the nations which form the country are economically powerful, culturally rich, and spiritually emancipated, the USSR will become stronger, too.

All that is so, but why is there a widespread philosophy which states that the culture of a particular nation can develop only within its own borders and when it has been cleansed, furthermore, of "immigrants"? Must we, in the 72d year of Soviet power, really be in such a hurry to resettle each other in national compartments. Yet around 60 million of our citizens live outside their own national formations. Should we seek today to recarve the country and divide people into "us" and "them." I remember the words of People's Deputy L. Barusheva, a seamstress, words spoken not from the rostrum: "You

can cut a map, take some scissors, cut off as much as you like, you who are obsessed with your ambitions. But in practice how can you sever the ties, the threads of people's destinies, the blood vessels of a single organism? Isn't it more sensible to ensure that everyone, regardless of nationality, feels that he is a fully fledged citizen in any republic and that he can satisfy all his national needs and requirements."

But there is a process of national alienation under way in the USSR. This cannot be ignored. In some republics the rejection of "other" nations is proceeding very rapidly. If things go on like this very soon we will be facing the creation of republics with populations of a single ethnic type. Will that please the advocates of national purity and the development of a sterile national genotype? Probably it will! Will that be beneficial to "elect" people of the future? Will that promote the development of their culture, their enrichment, and ultimately the strengthening of economic independence? I am convinced that it will not!

I have been to the Baltic a number of times recently and I know many leaders of the people's fronts. And although I do not accept everything in their programs, I do like their ability to hold a discussion and to maintain a proper tone with an opponent and restraint in a polemical debate. I also understand the concern of the delegates living in those republics belonging to the so-called Russian-speaking population. Their voices were also heard at the congress. Probably not all our readers know that as part of the Remembrance Day for the victims of the Stalinist repressions in Latvia on 14 June the Latvian People's Front (LPF) published a resolution demanding that the next session of the republic's Supreme Soviet adopt a declaration on Latvia's state sovereignty. Somewhat earlier the LPF Council, on behalf of its board, suggested to the front's members that the expediency of beginning a campaign for Latvian political and economic independence be discussed. RIGAS BALSS, the organ of the Riga party city committee, pointed out in this respect that "if the majority of LPF members support this idea the official aim of the People's Front will be to achieve Latvian sovereignty outside the framework of USSR statehood."

You don't need to be an oracle to see that this line drastically destabilizes the situation not only in Latvia but also in the Baltic as a whole. We are not going to ask the vital question: "Who stands to gain from this?" I am convinced that it will benefit no one—not the Latvians, the Russians, nor anyone living in Latvia or in the USSR.

Only now are we beginning to understand and see how national relations have become agonizingly entangled. If we untie one thread we unexpectedly discover another and a third and are afraid of breaking any of them.

We have inherited another problem from Stalinism—the problem of the Meskhetian Turks. During the congress it became particularly acute and acquired tragic overtones. I understand very well that this question cannot be resolved once and for all in a short time, one cannot demand that the hospitable Georgian people give back what they did not take away. But it was surely possible to signal the problem in some way, to hear the Georgian deputies' opinion, to say a few words in public, and to define one's position on this acute issue. I hope very much that what I have written is not taken as advice or interference in the Georgian people's affairs. After all, similar problems face the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. And the fate of our union depends to a considerable extent on how we learn to make difficult and, perhaps, sometimes unpopular decisions.

...Revolutions have always been accompanied by impatience. It makes people rack their brains, it troubles their hearts, it rejects caution, but it also crushes reason. That must be remembered. Our new Supreme Soviet began work recently. Whereas the first televised sittings of the congress were somewhat of a show, the work now in progress here is routine but very important. Our wish is that impatience be accompanied by reason, balance, and realism.

CPSU Roundtable Debates Interethnic Relations
PM1107124389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 5 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Scientific Analysis at the 'Roundtable': "Theory and Practice of Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] Moscow—"The Sociopolitical Problems of Interethnic Relations in the USSR: Theory and Practice"—that was the theme of the "roundtable," which began its work today at the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute. Scientists, party, soviet, and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League workers from the country's union and autonomous republics, oblasts, and autonomous okrugs are taking part in it.

The plenary sitting was opened by A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

The CPSU Central Committee, he pointed out, regards the current "round table" as an important element in the preparations for a Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations in the USSR. Its aim is to engage in a fruitful quest in the further theoretical elaboration of the problems of the party's nationalities policy and comprehensive discussion of the ideas put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech on Central Television 1 July.

The exacerbation of interethnic relations and its consequences for society, every family, and every person are a source of acute disquiet for all Soviet people today. A complex situation has taken shape. This has also had an impact on the work of the USSR Congress of People's

Deputies. At the same time the congress has shown particularly convincingly that our socialist future is inconceivable without the consolidation and unity of all Soviet peoples.

If we approach restructuring with the degree of historical responsibility that a true revolution merits, it is clearly of paramount importance for this revolution that we resolutely affirm and creatively develop Leninist norms and principles in nationalities policy.

Specialists on nationalities questions have to resolve at least three urgent tasks today. First, the historical implication of experience we have accumulated must be subjected to attentive scrutiny, valuable lessons derived from Lenin's practical work of leading a multi-ethnic country under exceptionally difficult conditions, and an attempt made to analyze them from the positions of restructuring. Second, it is necessary to analyze the complex processes currently taking place in the interethnic sphere, reveal the reasons for the unresolved problems that life implacably sets us, and determine the key areas for further scientific study. Last, concrete constructive proposals must be elaborated to resolve pressing practical questions in the sphere of nationalities policy.

Under contemporary conditions as never before the significance of elaborating a contemporary concept to update our nationalities policy on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist tradition and with consideration for the colossal changes which have recently taken place in real life and social practice is increasing.

In particular, the problem of internal and interrepublican economic relations is awaiting serious study. Basic and applied research on state-legal questions must be extended. They must enable us to clarify the legal foundations for national-state formations within the USSR, full rights and equality for the representatives of all national groups, and safeguard citizens' specific rights and interests founded on their affiliation to a particular historical and cultural community. It is quite clear that every nation and every people must feel confident on its own territory. It is also clear that an indigenous nationality's well-being must not be achieved at the expense of people of other nationalities who have linked their lives with this territory. It is inadmissible for these people's rights and freedoms to be flouted and particularly for those people to be ousted.

The restoration of Lenin's view of the state's federal structure, which is virtually necessary for our territorially vast and exceptionally multi-ethnic country merits special attention. Both our peoples' historical experience, economic considerations, and political common sense indicate this. Our task is to make truly effective use of all the constructive potential of Soviet federalism, imbue it with real political and economic substance, and creatively improve state-legal mechanisms, their functions, and development.

Questions of the theory of national cultures confront society in all their magnitude. A stereotypical formula—national culture in form, socialist culture in content—suffers from mechanisms and obliviousness to the dialectics of form and content. Social scientists must finally voice their well considered and scientifically regulated opinion on ways to create conditions whereby people of any nationality, including those living outside their state-territorial formations or those without such formations, receive opportunities to satisfy their national-cultural and spiritual needs in the sphere of education, instruction in their native language, folk creative work, and relations.

Problems of throwing light on the peoples' historical past are now the cynosure of public attention. It is well known that history may foster a sense of patriotism and internationalism in people and draw the peoples closer together but it can kindle hostility between them given the relevant interpretation.

The accumulation of historical knowledge about each of the Soviet peoples, the speaker said, study of their historical traditions, analysis of specific ethnic features in the sphere of folklore, popular art, customs, and ceremonies, and propaganda of this knowledge via schooling and the mass media—this is all designed to have a direct effect on national self-consciousness and help strengthen the principles of internationalism in Soviet society.

The following delivered reports on questions of the Leninist concept of the federation of free nations, the improvement of interethnic relations as an important factor for deepening restructuring, and on contradictions in the sphere of interethnic relations and the means of resolving them: R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute; and Ye.A. Vagramov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute sector.

Many speakers expressed the idea of the need for an in-depth scientific analysis of the entire system of contradictions that have been hushed up for a long time. The party, which is implementing a Leninist course, must ensure the nationalities question is resolved correctly at the present-day stage. It is inconceivable for unhealthy trends to be halted and the USSR strengthened without reinforcing the party's vanguard role. After long years of stagnation nationalities policy must gain a second wind and become truly creative, dynamic, responsive to the needs and requirements of the population of various regions, capable of organizing the masses to overcome negative phenomena, and demonstrate effective forms of struggling to reinforce the international unity of the masses.

The participants in the "roundtable" will spend 3 days discussing most varied aspects of interethnic problems and elaborating their recommendations and proposals.

Further Reportage on Kuzbass Miners' Strikes

Slyunkov Commission Arrives

LD1707164789 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Kemerovo July 17 TASS—A commission headed by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, arrived today in the Kuznetsk coal basin (Kuzbass), a scene of the strike by miners and workers of other industries, now in its seventh day.

The commission is assigned to study problems of the region's social and economic development, adopt practical measures on burning issues, draft proposals concerning the region's long-term development and submit them for consideration to the Supreme Soviet and the government of the USSR.

Slyunkov met with Kemerovo workers who gathered in Sovetskaya Square. He described the programme of the commission's work and answered workers' questions.

Soviet Coal Minister Mikhail Shchadov informed Kemerovo mine workers about the results of the study of their demands advanced during the strike.

Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council Stepan Shalayev also replied to questions.

The commission left by air for Prokopyevsk in the afternoon. Together with the United Regional Strike Committee, they will start reviewing urgent problems of Kuzbass development that have been set out in the strikers' demands.

Slyunkov Addresses Miners

LD1707173889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 17 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades, we have just received a report from Kemerovo.

[Unidentified reporter] The strike at the coal enterprises in the Kuznetsk basin is continuing for the eighth day now. The strike has now spread to the whole of the Kuzbass and the number of strikers has exceeded 100,000. Only the miners of Mezhdurechinsk are working today and they have reserved the right to renew their strike if the miners' radical demands are not satisfied.

An oblast strike committee has been formed in Prokopyevsk to coordinate the action and to work out unified demands for the strikers. Its first session took place

yesterday. Among their main demands is the granting to miners' collectives of economic independence, the real right to manage their own funds which they earn above the coal plan.

Perestroika in deeds, not words! Regional financial autonomy for the Kuzbass! These are the main slogans of the strikers. Of course, the miners understand that the strike is inflicting great damage upon the national economy. Hundreds of thousands of tonnes of coal have remained underground because of the pitface stoppage. But while they are aware of this, the miners are also reasonably asking this question: Why is it that long before the strike, coal which had already been extracted was languishing at the coal depots of all the Kuzbass pits for months awaiting rail cars, thus devaluing the miners' labor?

There has been enough patience; the problem of the Kuzbass must be solved! Telegrams with this demand have been sent to the government and to the USSR Supreme Soviet, a government commission of which arrived today, headed by Slyunkov. It includes Shalaye and Voronin. In the evening the government commission traveled from the oblast center to Prokopyevsk to meet the united strike committee. Before its departure there was a meeting between Comrade Slyunkov and the Kemerovo miners. [video shows miners' meeting in an auditorium; Slyunkov and delegation at airport]

[Begin Slyunkov recording; Slyunkov shown on podium addressing gathering in a square] Our country, our party, and our people have now embarked upon the renewal of society, upon perestroika, and upon economic, social, and political restructuring. We must achieve a radical improvement and renewal of our society and an improvement in the lives of the Soviet people. This is all being done for Soviet people, for the Soviet man.

And, of course, at this crucial moment, we need cohesion, not disunity. We need unity among the whole people, the party, all our public institutions. We shall attain the goal which we have set if each of us makes a worthy contribution. Perestroika cannot be carried out by an individual, by 100 people, by 1,000 people or even by a few million. You and I shall implement perestroika only when each of us makes his worthy contribution. Each of us can do this, must do this, and is duty-bound to join in this perestroika.

I am saying this because every minute and every day is precious and these stoppages that have taken place today are insignificant. [as heard] We are convinced that you did not want them either, that you are also against resolving things through these methods. You yourselves understand that it is not a method of resolving things; that they do not bring an improvement in all the issues closer but, on the contrary, make it more distant.

But many internal dissatisfactions, so to speak, have accumulated, which [words indistinct] and to such an undesirable phenomena as people even embarking upon a work stoppage.

Of course, this will inflict, and is inflicting, losses. It is inflicting losses not just upon the economy of your region. (?At the same time coal affects) neighboring enterprises and industries. Well, you understand how the whole economy is linked to coal. It is a fuel. It is the food for all our industry.

Of course, those people who have temporarily stopped work are also suffering from this. It is important now to strengthen our objective soundings since I have met you here, and to adopt measures and reach an agreement with you so that no material damage will be inflicted upon perestroika, so that no damage is inflicted upon the economy, the democratization of society, and perestroika. For this reason we must maintain our firmness and endurance. [end recording]

Further on Slyunkov Speech

LD1707220289 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Report on speech by Nikolay Slyunkov at meeting with miners in Prokopyevsk on 17 July; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Slyunkov] Of course, this will cause and is already causing losses. It is causing losses not just to the economy of your region. (?coal mining affects) neighboring enterprises and industries. Well, you understand how the whole economy is linked to coal. It is a fuel. It is the food for all of our industries.

Of course, those people who have temporarily stopped work are also suffering from this. It is important now to strengthen our objective soundings since I have met you here, and to adopt measures and reach an agreement with you so that no material damage will be inflicted upon restructuring, so that no damage is inflicted upon the economy, the democratization of society, and restructuring. For this reason we must maintain our firmness and endurance.

From the materials, from the reports that I have had, I have developed a good impression, that the manners, the labor collectives, the working classes see the solution precisely in the implementation of new economic policy, the solution of these issues through the independence of workers' enterprises, through full independence of workers' enterprises, through financial autonomy, and through changing and improving work efficiency. At the same time, both social and material issues will be resolved much more quickly, and high moral and ethical standards must be maintained in this respect, so you will be happy in your work and when you come to work, and when you finish your working day you will be happy to

return to your families. Only then is life what it should be. So social issues should be resolved more quickly. That is why we now want to go and have arranged to go to Prokopyevsk.

Kuzbass Deputy on Situation

LD1707215589 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1514 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Speech by Deputy Viktor Yakovlevich Medikov at the Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin on 17 July; from the "Special Program on the Supreme Soviet"—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, I thank you for giving me the floor and ridding us of a situation. We were telephoned today and told that if we were not given the floor, then we should begin a strike in the Supreme Soviet. And so, this issue is now removed. My constituency includes Mezhdurechensk, Myzki, and Novokuznetsk—mining towns. Novokuznetsk is also a metallurgical town. The situation in the Kuzbass, at present, is extremely serious and the tension is not abating. Thousands, tens of thousands, probably even hundreds of thousands of people are sitting in the squares day and night. The situation is very serious and every word here, spoken or unspoken, can influence the situation strongly.

I am not used to reading from a text, but in this situation, permit me all the same to use a text. All the miners in the Kuzbass are on strike. This is a fundamentally new phenomenon in our life which has not occurred since the time of the revolution. Unfortunately, a great many people do not realize this, including the mass media. Limited reports are given, with considerable delays and without due appraisal which, of course, does not help in bringing the strike to an end. The protests in the Kuzbass are radically different from all the protests that have occurred and are continuing to occur here in the Soviet Union. This is a powerful and highly organized protest—although it arose spontaneously—and it is leading the country not toward ruin, but rather toward the acceleration of restructuring processes. Therefore I fully support the workers and inhabitants of the Kuzbass and ask that I be regarded as a representative of the permanent working committee at the Supreme Soviet.

The fairness of the demands is demonstrated by the fact that Minugleprom [Ministry of the Coal Industry], the Council of Ministers, and party and state bodies have accepted all these demands. And these demands are not to give them meat and sausage, as many people have tried to imply. The main demand is for them to be given independence and the right to decide their own lives, and to get away from the diktat of Moscow and other bureaucrats. I have here in my hand already 17 decisions on meeting the demands of the people of the Kuzbass, and all the others are in the final stage. These decisions that have been adopted are acceptable to the inhabitants of the Kuzbass. In order for the remaining decisions to be carried out, a commission has now flown to the Kuzbass headed by Comrade Slyunkov and including

also Comrade Voronin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. These decisions are an indisputable, real and long-awaited step in restructuring in the area of economics and social policy where, as we know, we are getting stuck most of all.

Since the aim of the strike has virtually been reached, on behalf of all Kuzbass deputies, I appeal to all inhabitants of the Kuzbass to end the strike, as to continue it would be pointless. We also take the liberty, on behalf of the Kuzbass, of appealing to all the regions of the country, and especially mining regions, not to turn the all-Kuzbass strike into an all-union strike, since this would no longer be a restructuring process but rather an anti-restructuring one. In my view, everything that has happened to date in the Kuzbass has brought only good, especially from the political and social points of view. The goals have been reached, but if the strike is continued then a reverse effect will begin to unwind, especially an economic one. It would be better for everyone, except for the strike committee, to return to work. An oblast committee has already been formed. Let this committee conduct talks and if the talks do not yield the desired results the strike committee can always declare an all-Kuzbass strike.

The strike has shown that the local soviet bodies and, what is more, the trade unions, are unworthy and incapable of controlling the situation and leading people. Therefore, the sooner elections are held in the local soviets—and one of the demands is the stepping-up of local soviet elections—the better. The strike has pushed to the fore by many workers and engineering and technical staff who formed the strike committees and who have proved their ability and determination to lead. I believe that these people should form the main backbone of the new local soviets. The strike committees have been turned into permanent working committees. No doubt this experience, the experience of the working committees, could be used by many. And there are several other benefits from the strike.

Allow me to read, well, part of it was an open letter from the miners of Mezhdurechensk to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers which was handed over on 19 June, that is, almost a month ago, and to which, there has, unfortunately, been no response whatsoever. It is on the situation in the Kuzbass.

What has happened with the letter is the same thing that has happened here for many decades. The living chain man-nature-coal has been completely broken. Coal, alone, has been taken out of it. A miner's entire life is adapted to the extraction plan and not vice versa.

To this day, nothing has been said about the other wealth, nature, which has virtually been wiped out completely in the Kuzbass. Over the years of the crazy and barbaric attitude to human beings and nature in the Kuzbass, vital problems have accumulated which, when

ignored in the years of perestroika, cast into doubt the meaning of perestroika itself. They are problems of the following kind: the threat of an ecological catastrophe, the degradation of miners and the younger generation, and the threat of hunger. In the coal industry in this country miners have the most inhuman regime of work and leisure. The work of miners, especially in Siberian conditions, still remains the most difficult and dangerous. The specific features of the work has a definite negative impact on a person. The outline of life and leisure is wretched: work—home, work—wine shop; and transforms a person into a submissive animal, and so on. This is written by miners.

The all-kuzbass strike has shown that there is and will be no degradation of the working class. The workers have proved that they can carry out management far more efficiently than is being done at present. This is a very big practical result. After all, look, the workers, under the leadership of the strike committees, have taken under control the whole situation in the Kuzbass. They have closed all the wine shops, stopped all access to spirits, and have established the order of which they have long dreamed. Crime has dropped very considerably and public patrol volunteers are at work. The workers and engineering and technical staff have completely taken power into their hands, not yielding to any actions by extremists, which is also very important, and this is a significant step forwards, although, generally speaking, these attempts are still continuing.

Why is the strike not ending? The people of the Kuzbass need guarantees that the adopted decisions will be carried out. The Kuzbass has been deceived so many times that it no longer believes anything. It has always been told: Give us coal and metal, and we will see to it you are fed. But in exchange for coal and metal, it has received only smoke, dust, dirt, gas, contaminated water, moon-scapes, quarries, illness, and much more. Now the kuzbass has been told: Boys, now we have perestroika, feed yourselves. But we do not even have the land to feed ourselves. Every place is stripped, and there are virtually no peasants. Whole cities have to be moved since they stand on coal. In such a situation, the only guarantor of an end to the strike can be, the workers of the Kuzbass and the inhabitants of the Kuzbass believe, can be Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, alone. Well, here it was suggested that, all the same, despite the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich is so busy, that he go there, if only for a day. The tension would be lifted and then the matter could be completed by the commission and specially-entrusted persons. In our view this would be the very best option. The Kuzbass will understand everything, but it needs guarantees.

The question arises as to whether the strike could have been avoided and why did it occur? Let me answer. In this situation it was inevitable. There have been strikes in the Kuzbass by miners and iron and steel workers on

many occasions but not on this scale and no one paid any attention to them. No one analyzed them. There were other forms of protest also, but no one paid any attention to them either.

You ask, are there any prospects for Kuzbass? There will be no answer to this from Gosplan, or Minugieprom, or the Ministry of Metallurgy because there are no such prospects so far. The only thing there is, is: Give us more coal, give us more metal. All the effort and resources go into coal and metal and no effort, no resources, no workers and no production capacities of construction organizations remain for social development and ecology.

Why has the Kuzbass gone on strike? Because it was no longer possible to continue living and working like that. Life expectancy is, well, significantly lower than the union level. Child sickness and mortality rates are high. There are virtually no healthy children in the Kuzbass. It has the highest cancer rate. There is a catastrophic shortage of hospitals, schools, nursery schools, housing, and so on. What is there to say when Mezhdurechensk, where 30 million tonnes of coal are extracted, has only two impoverished committees and not a single swimming pool, and so on. That is, one can cite many examples like this.

Yes, I am almost finished.

But in the Kuzbass there is not only an economic but also a social crisis—and an ecological crisis. Things are bad, we know, with the soil. The same is the case with the water: the metal workers, the miners, and everyone else are causing pollution. As for the air, I have already said here that Novokuznetsk is the dirtiest city, judging from statistics, in the Soviet Union and probably in the world as well. And work conditions are difficult, and so on, for miners in particular. If one bears in mind that for every 1 million people 1 miner dies, then it works out that in the Kuzbass about 200 people die each year, and a great many are crippled. And it is all these conditions that have lead to this.

Note that Kuzbass even now is not asking for, not even demanding what it earned previously. It is demanding that now, at least, not so much be so overtly taken away from it. It is demanding that part of what it earns be left at its disposal, so that it can live in conditions close to human. Since the Soviet Union cannot feed the Kuzbass in exchange for its coal and metal, there is the following option: Give us at least 10 to 15 percent of the coal and metal, in other words, let the state order be about 80-85 percent. And we will exchange the metal and coal both within the Soviet Union and abroad. At least we would be able to exchange it for something. We have schools and hospitals and sports centers and so on to build. We have a little experience but at least it is some, with Japan, with Italy, China, and Yugoslavia. They are asking for this. In other words, if we were to be given at least a one-seventh or one-fifth of this, then we would solve all these problems without dipping into the state budget and

without dipping into public funds. We would solve food, ecological, transport, and other problems, although everyone probably knows that even were this the case the Kuzbass would not bask in luxury. After all, capitalists are not stupid people. It is not our metal and coal that they are buying, but rather their own health, in exchange for ours.

Well, and there are, in general, two serious problems and these are the development of (?metallurgy and Krapivinskiy which may be affected significantly in the future). And so, in conclusion I would like to appeal again to the inhabitants of the Kuzbass to call off the strike; to leave the strike committees, which have been transformed into permanent working committees; to leave these committees intact and for them to work with the commission in the future.

And on the whole, the new Supreme Soviet and the congress of deputies and the new Council of Ministers are a guarantor that the decisions will be implemented. It is a qualitatively new Council of Ministers and even those ministers who have remained for a new term, are different ministers who have passed through. And I think that Comrade Shchadov [minister of coal industry] has proved this. This is already the second week he has gone without sleep and, evidently, food down there, but as I see it, the questions being resolved are highly important. I would like to say again the situation is highly serious but that so far we do not have a firm understanding of this.

Thank you for your attention.

Ryzhkov Answers Question on Strike

*LD1707210989 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1514 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[From the "Special Program on the Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] [Presenter] The speech by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov did not put an end to the discussion. A question from the floor was asked by a deputy from the Donbass.

[Begin recording] [Deputy, not further identified] Naturally, all the miners in the country are ashamed of the development of events in Kemerovo, including the miners of the Donbass. This is our request. The things that concern specific special features of the demands put forward in the Kuzbass—let the commission resolve them. But if a decision will be taken which is connected with the touches on the interests of all miners throughout the country, in taking that decision, it must be taken into account that we should not wait until such situations arise in another region, and there will be attempts to attain the same solutions. This is our earnest entreaty because in the Donbass there are particularly and attentively following the developments in Kemerovo and the solution of these issues.

[Ryzhkov] I am completely in agreement with you. For this reason when I spoke about, as they say, breaking them down into three questions, dividing all the problems into three parts, I think that the first part of the problem is the same for all of our country's miners. It cannot be resolved only in the Kuzbass. Therefore whether those working in the Kuzbass like it or not, we cannot embark upon that. We told them honestly yesterday and the day before yesterday that we cannot resolve the issues of pensions. We cannot solve questions, that means...[changes thought] Regarding pensions there are several points. There is more than one point, that I came across there, there are more than one or two points. Well, it is written down there, let's say, that 75 percent of the average wage should be, as they say, paid out at retirement. Can we decide that today for the Kuzbass alone? No, we cannot. Therefore I agree with you that questions of principle which apply to all miners throughout the country should be resolved in an organized way by the Supreme Soviet and be studied very carefully. They cannot be resolved there. As far as individual questions are concerned. There are some concerning each region. In the given case, they do have a certain batch of questions—neglect of housing, of public and everyday services, and so forth. In this affair, one must help them. I am in agreement with you.

[Deputy] Thank you. [end recording]

Ryzhkov on Miners' Situation

*LD1707152389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[Text] At the end of this morning's Supreme Soviet session, Deputy Medikov from Kuzbass asked to speak. Although the set time for work at the morning session had already been exceeded, deputies did not object because events now taking place in the Kuznetsk basin are the focus of universal attention.

Comrade Medikov talked about the situation there, about the fact that it is being fully monitored by the public and that order is being maintained in towns and settlements. He spoke about the serious economic, ecological, and other problems of the Kuznetsk basin which led to the mass strike. He passed on the miners' request to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to come in person to the Kuznetsk basin and work together to seek ways of resolving the problem. He called on the miners to start working normally.

This address was rather agitated and is difficult to convey it, simply having heard it. I recommend our listeners to listen to it in the evening when a recording of the session of the Supreme Soviet will be broadcast by All-Union radio and television.

Then Comrade Ryzhkov asked to speak.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Yesterday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and I signed an address to the Kuzbass miners in which we said that a special commission will go out there. The commission is led by Comrade Slyunkov, a Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee; Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. We also said that they will examine on the spot the whole range of these problems, the whole range of issues. They will go there and, of course, we must make certain decisions.

Comrades, you know my opinion. I do not think we did the right thing when we adopted government decisions on each occasion. To be precise, we adopted 40 decisions in recent years on separate regions of our country. I do not think we should do this because the decisions subsequently become devalued. But in this instance I think that we must adopt a special decision on Kemerovo Oblast, on this mining region, because without it they will not emerge from the difficult situation in which they find themselves.

In this address, which Mikhail Sergeyevich and I signed, we said that we will examine without fail all the issues when the commission returns, but we called on the miners to show prudence in order to begin work immediately, otherwise a very serious situation will come about in the country. [end recording]

A deputy representing Donbass miners then drew the government's attention to the fact that the measures that are expected to be taken must be extended to other coal fields too.

Comrade Ryzhkov confirmed that that is envisaged.

Ryzhkov on Kuznetsk Strike

*LD1707201689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1514 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[Statement by Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov at the 17 July session of the Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin; from the "Special Program on the Supreme Soviet"—recorded]

[Text] Today I seem to have taken over this rostrum; it turns out that I have had to come up here several times. Well, the people's deputies know about the events that have taken place over the last few days in the Kuznetsk basin, so there is no need for me to dwell in detail on what is taking place there. There is one thing I can say: That yesterday 110,000 people in the Kuzbass were not at work. In practice, except for the Mezhdurechensk Mine, the mines were idle. All day yesterday talks, rallies, and so forth were held. Comrade Shchadov, who flew there on the very first day, is there. And also Comrade Melnikov, first secretary of the oblast committee. That is Shchadov, minister of the coal industry, and Comrade Melnikov, first secretary of Kemerovo Obkom, who is on the spot in those areas—in the coal areas.

I would like to remind you that when Comrade Shchadov was confirmed, I requested permission to speak, and I told you that it was not Shchadov that I wanted to talk about, to defend him or not to defend him. But on behalf of the government I expressed my attitude to those social and everyday issues, socioeconomic questions concerning our miners, the miners of our country. And in fact, at that time I referred to the unfavorable situation that had taken shape in this specific case of the Kuzbass, in Kemerovo Oblast, and especially in Kiselevsk, Prokopyevsk, in those towns where the coal industry is most developed.

I was there in March. It was those very towns that I visited. At the session here I stated my attitude honestly. That there is indeed enormous neglect there which needs to be dealt with. The preparatory work has been carried out by Comrade Shchadov, estimates have been made, decisions have been prepared regarding ways we can improve the situation with housing, kindergartens, and other public and cultural facilities. Therefore we cannot make an appraisal today that there are no problems there. In fact, very many problems have accumulated there which must be resolved.

Today we are talking about something else. Should we resolve these problems through these methods, or should we find the most democratic, most lawful methods to settle those controversial issues, the unsolved issues, that exist? As I was making the concluding remarks just now on the conclusion of the formation of the government, I said that we had introduced such a draft and that we would request the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine that draft law. And in our view, such decisions must be taken, either as they are or with some amendments that the people's deputies feel they should and must introduce.

Well, then, we have very many questions. You yourselves are able to sense even from all the speeches over these 3 weeks how acute all the social questions are in our life. Therefore, if we resolve them today by these methods, you yourselves can understand that we shall not resolve any problems in the country at all. We shall exacerbate the situation in the country. That is, as they say, a chain reaction. Yesterday the metallurgical works were on the brink of coming to a standstill. There was already a shortage of coking coal. The power stations were on the brink of coming to a standstill. They were like that because no coal was being supplied. Well, one has to be fair to the strike committee which, having seen what the situation was like, decided that some batches of coal should be dispatched so that industry would not be brought to a halt for once and for all. As they say, that is how we stand.

I do not wish to dwell on all those questions that are being raised by the miners. They are constantly fluctuating. They went up to 41 issues, problems, then the number went down, then it went up again, with everything hinging on one question or another.

The third part of the issue is ordinary things, including foodstuffs, medicines, and many many other things—consumer goods. The comrades have gone headlong. Yesterday we once again considered the issues. Of course, we have to help this district. Although, to be blunt, in March we were critical of the leadership of Kemerovo Oblast, because this is a mighty, mighty industrial oblast and the most important kind of consumer goods it produces is vacuum cleaners. They have not gone any further than the vacuum cleaner. How can it be that this kind of oblast produces virtually no goods for its own population, and then we say that we cannot satisfy the miners?

Well, as they say, that is the criticism of the oblast. We are now taking measures to give them, albeit in minimal quantities, foodstuffs, consumer goods, and medicines in order to improve the situation of the miners a bit.

Yesterday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and I signed an address to the Kuzbass miners in which we said that a special commission will go out there. The commission is led by Comrade Slyunkov, a Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee; Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the all-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. We also said that they will examine on the spot the whole range of these problems, the whole range of issues. They will go there and, of course, we must make certain decisions.

Comrades, you know my opinion. I do not think we did the right thing when we adopted government decisions on each occasion. To be precise, we adopted 40 decisions in recent years on separate regions of our country. I do not think we should do this because the decisions subsequently become devalued. But in this instance I think that we must adopt a special decision on Kemerovo Oblast, on this mining region, because without it they will not emerge from the difficult situation in which they find themselves.

In this address, which Mikhail Sergeyevich and I signed, we said that we will examine without fail all the issues when the commission returns, but we called on the miners to show prudence in order to begin work immediately, otherwise a very serious situation will come about in the country.

That is what I wanted to say to you, in addition to what the people's deputies covered here.

Ryzhkov on Kuzbass Commission

*LD1707135989 Moscow TASS in English
1348 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on Sunday called upon the striking miners in the Kuzbass Coal Basin in Siberia to return to work, Ryzhkov reported to the Supreme Soviet today.

He also said that a special commission including Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov, First Deputy Premier Lev Voronin and head of soviet trade unions Stepan Shalayev was leaving for Kuzbass. The commission was instructed to study all the issues to enable central bodies to establish how the miners could be helped.

The prime minister told parliament that on Sunday 110,000 people did not work in Kuzbass. Some metallurgical plants and power stations will soon be forced to stop as a result. Under these circumstances, the strike committee decided to ship coal in installments. For several days already, Coal Industry Minister Mikhail Shchadov and the regional party leadership had been looking for ways to resolve the conflict.

Ryzhkov noted that many social problems have accumulated in the mining region. Some of them were left unattended due to the inertia of the local authorities. The general situation in the country relating to food and consumer goods supplies was also reflected in the development. The central administration is willing to help the miners with all possible means at its disposal, he stressed. But some of the questions, including better pensions, cannot be resolved immediately.

Ryzhkov said he opposed using force to settle the problems. He recalled that the government had submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet a bill on dealing with group conflicts and asked the deputies to expedite the consideration of the draft.

Another report on the situation in Kuzbass was made by Viktor Medikov, a people's deputy from the mining region.

Strike 'Leader' Cited on Demands

*LD1707184289 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[Text] Donetsk July 17 TASS—Workers at six mines in the city of Makeyevka in the Donetsk coal basin of the Ukraine went on strike today by advancing demands the solution of which calls for actions by both local authorities and the Soviet Government.

The mine-workers demand longer leaves, extra pay for night work and improved pension schemes.

The demands of more than 2,000 striking miners also include cuts in the bureaucratic staffs, faster and better housing construction in miners' settlements and improved services for families of the colliery workers.

A strike leader described a gross attempt to interfere in the affairs of the Makeyevka mine-workers on the part of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.

Valeriy Blishchik, a stoping machine operator from the Yasinovskaya-Glubokaya mine, told TASS: "At the outset, when we elected a strike committee, there arrived a man from Lvov.

He introduced himself as a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and gave us leaflets of an apparently instigatory and provocative character."

The miners demanded that the stranger immediately go away, Blishchik said.

Representatives of striking work collectives held a rally during which the order was maintained by the strikers jointly with militiamen.

The participants in the rally sent a message to their deputy in Moscow, asking him to come to his native town so that the strikers could hand over to him for submission to the Supreme Soviet a document setting out problems that worry the mineworkers.

The strikers maintain mines in safe condition, doing everything to exclude accidents or equipment breakdowns.

Miners Call for Economic Independence

18220161 Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by V. Klimov: "What Came of the Minister's Silence"]

[Text] Mezhdurechensk, Kemerovo Oblast—On 10 July the night shift of miners did not come out of the Shevyakov mine and the first shift did not go down to the working face. The other shifts joined them.

Yesterday morning the collectives of the other four mines in Mezhdurechensk joined the strikers. The miners in their work clothing—several thousand of them—passed in columns through the main street of the city and sat down on the asphalt in the central square near the party gorkom [city committee]. The miners presented their demands, which consisted of more than 30 points.

The main ones were: to grant the mines economic independence, to increase vacations for underground workers to 45 days, to improve the food supply for the city of Mezhdurechensk, to complete the construction of purification installations in the city immediately.

The problems discussed in the miners' demands have been accumulating over many years as a result of the fact that in the city most of the attention has been devoted to the development of production and the extraction of coal, and the social needs of the miners have been satisfied according to the notorious residual principle. The press has written about this repeatedly. In particular, on 26 January TRUD published a letter from a group of workers from the mining city of Mezhdurechensk entitled "Help Ministry Style." The workers wrote with anguish about the urgent social needs of the city which provided more than 30 million tons of high-quality coal a year. The letter criticized the position of the ministry, including the minister, M. Shchadov. Almost a half year

had passed but the minister did not even consider it necessary to respond to the criticism. And, of course, he made no attempt somehow to defuse the growing social tension in Mezhdurechensk.

And yet not far from Rapsadskaya, the largest mine in the country, they are preparing to put into operation an equally large coal enriching factory. The ministry gathered workers from all over the Kuzbass [Kuznets Basin] to rush its construction. At the same time for almost a thousand future enrichment workers they did not construct a single square meter of housing and not a single social, cultural, and domestic facility. The ministry leaders intended to solve the housing problem for this category of workers very simply: They took two new apartment buildings and a dormitory away from the miners.

They put their faith in the limitlessness of the miners' patience and in the city authorities. Ten days ago a delegation from the Shevyakov mine submitted its demands to the party gorkom, warning them that if they were not fulfilled the collective from the mine would begin a strike. But this was apparently not taken seriously in the gorkom either. And so the work came to a stop...

Yesterday evening the minister of the coal industry, M.I. Shchadov, the first secretary of the Kemerovo Oblast party committee, A.G. Melnikov, the chairman of the oblsposkom [oblast executive committee], A.F. Lyutenko, and some deputy ministers came to visit the striking miners. The discussion that was started ended well after midnight. We shall report the results in the next issue of the newspaper.

Miners in Donbass Strike

LD1707183689 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1747 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Correspondent G. Kondaurov 17 July video report from the Donbass; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The square in front of the party rayon committee building for Sovetskiy Rayon in the town of Makeyevka has been filled with miners in their overalls and helmets. With them here are their wives and children. Up to now the collectives of eight pits at Makeyevka have stopped work and announced a strike. Party and soviet leaders of the oblast and the town, Anatoliy Yakovlevich Vinnik, first secretary of the party oblast committee, and trade union workers have come here to this square to meet the miners.

The Makeyevka miners are resolutely demanding the granting of enterprise rights and that means economic independence for pits, a cut in the apparatus administering the industry, the establishment of firm rates per tonne of coal extracted, and a start on the technical renewal of the pits. The miners are demanding full payment for evening and night shifts, that pension issues be resolved, and that 45 working days of paid holiday be established for underground workers.

The miners have brought forward many criticisms against the local authorities—that they have to wait 10 or 12 years for a flat, that the miners' apartments are poorly built, there is nowhere for rest and recreation. The miners have particular grievances against the trade unions. You can't get places in sanatoriums while the managers go every year. The trade union committees do not defend the workers' interests.

Many of the miners' problems, which the Kuzbass strikers had already stated earlier, have already been solved by the government and the minister of the coal industry, but why didn't people know about this in the Donbass? In my opinion, the absence of glasnost in this affair is one of the causes which made the Makeyevka miners stop work. [video shows miners in square in working clothes with women and children; some miners talking to men in suits]

Donbass Miners Air Grievances

LD1707210189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Recorded interview with unidentified miners by correspondent Gennadiy Kondaurov in Donetsk, introduced by announcer Aleksandr Ruvinskiy; first and last four paragraphs are announcer's comments]

[Text] [Announcer Aleksandr Ruvinskiy] I want to dwell on a topic which today attracted the rapt attention of the deputies at today's Supreme Soviet session. I have in mind the strikes by the miners of the Kuzbass, and now, the situation in the Donbass which has grown more complicated too. So I asked our correspondent in Donetsk, Gennadiy Kondaurov, to speak in more detail about what is going on there—I have the Donbass in mind.

[Begin recording] [Kondaurov] The square in front of the raykom [rayon party committee] building of Sovetskiy District in the town of Makeyevka is packed with miners in their work clothes. With them here are their wives and children. Party and soviet leaders of the town and oblast and trade union staffers have arrived here. Heated arguments are taking place. The workers are presenting their demands to them. I will say right away that among these demands there are no anti-restructuring slogans.

[First unidentified miner] We are not putting forward any political issues here.

[Kondaurov] Your demands are economic?

[Miner] Economic demands, and...

[Second unidentified miner]...and social demands.

[First unidentified miner] Social, yes. On the 16th we set up a strike committee, and that night we worked out these demands, and we published them in full today.

[Kondaurov] Well, what are the basic demands concerning the work and life of the miners?

[Several miners] A very low wage. One is ashamed to speak of it. A miner brings in 180-200 rubles. That's in a mine, risking death. Miners' settlements are dilapidated, and even repair work is not done, there are no resources for repair work and there is no building work being done. (?For 10 years at a stretch) people have incurred [words indistinct].

[Kondaurov] And where do they give tourist passes?

[Miner] (?what tourist passes)

[Kondaurov] Where do the passes go? Have you travelled somewhere—to the sea or somewhere? Who has travelled?

[Third unidentified miner] Generally, people work for 25 years in the mine and never have a pass in their hands.

[Fourth unidentified miner] Not a single year. I never got a single pass. Thirty years in the mine [words indistinct].

[Fifth unidentified miner] The whole administrative apparatus travel very often.

[Unidentified woman] A miner comes home from work, there's nothing to eat, nothing to wash with, or bathe with, or to clean clothes with...

[Sixth unidentified miner] The reason for our actions today is that for years, for years, our demands or requests which we expressed—elementary ones, at meetings, at trade union meetings, at mine party meetings, and at conferences—were not fulfilled. They promise us everything, but nothing is done. Today, we have put forward our demands, firstly to give regular vacations to underground workers of no less than 45 days; to increase the rate per tonne of coal; to increase the bonus for night work—not that we get a ruble at present—but 20 percent during the evening and 40 percent at night, based on the wage scale; provision for the families of miners who have died—definitely, because this happens among us often and in large numbers.

We are now awaiting a reply from Moscow. We understand that one can't do everything in one day. But we need firm guarantees so that later, we can demand of the person who promised it to us: What will be done; when, and how?

[Kondaurov] There are 38 points in the miners' demands. Knowing the work and life of the miners well, since all my life as a correspondent has been connected with the Kuzbass and the Donbass, I also signed them. I think that some miners' problems have already been resolved by the

minister of the coal industry in the Kuzbass. But why is it that they don't know about this in the Donbass? This forces the strikers in the Donbass to raise them again. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] In conclusion, I would just like to add that we received this report from our correspondent early today, that is, before Comrade Ryzhkov spoke at the [Supreme Soviet] session on the question of the miners' strikes. I will remind you that he promised to review without delay all the social and economic problems which urgently need to be resolved. So it is not impossible that by this time, the miners will have already received replies to the questions which concern them so much.

By the way, a commission headed by Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today arrived in the Kuzbass, where the strike of the miners and workers in other sectors is continuing for the seventh day. He met with inhabitants of the town of Kemerovo, who had gathered at Sovetskaya Ploshchad, and spoke about the working program of the commission, and replied to questions.

The USSR minister of the coal industry, Shchadov, informed the miners of the Kemerovo mine of the results of a review of their demands put forward during the strike. Shalayev, chairman of the all-union Central Council of Trade Unions, also replied to questions from the people of Kemerovo.

In the afternoon the members of the commission flew to Prokopyevsk. There, together with the joint oblast strike committee, they will set about reviewing the urgent problems in the development of the Kuzbass set forth in the demands by the strikers.

17 Jul Kuzbass Situation Detailed

PM1807144589 Moscow TRUD in Russian
18 Jul 89 p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kotlyarov report: "Kuzbass, 17 July"]

[Text] Kemerovo—Last Sunday local radio repeatedly broadcast the text of a telegram sent by M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov to the miners and all working people of the Kuzbass. It announced that a commission headed by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been set up and has been instructed to study the problems of the region's socioeconomic development, to take practical measures on immediate questions, to prepare proposals for the long-term development of the Kuzbass, and to submit them to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's government.

The commission, whose members include senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments, arrived in Kemerovo 17

July and immediately got down to examining the prevailing situation and the strikers' demands. N.N. Slyunkov and S.A. Shalayev addressed a large rally of Kemerovo citizens in the city's central square. N.N. Slyunkov explained the stance taken by the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers regarding the alarming situation in the Kuzbass and announced that, following proposals by N.I. Ryzhkov, who visited the oblast in March and saw for himself the social neglect in mining cities, a government resolution on measures to aid the Kuzbass is being prepared. Replying to questions from those present, N.N. Slyunkov said that a number of questions raised by the strikers are not just of regional but also of all-union importance and that decisions on them will be made by the Council of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

N.N. Slyunkov met working people from Kemerovo City who had assembled in Sovetskaya Square. He described the commission's work program and answered their questions. S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], also replied to Kemerovo residents' questions.

"The AUCCTU Presidium," S.A. Shalayev said in particular, "supported the resolution by the Coal Industry Workers' Trade Union Central Committee on the five demands to the minister of the coal industry. In my capacity as AUCCTU chairman I shall be on the commission which has arrived in the Kuzbass, and I shall uphold the working people's legitimate interests...."

At the same time the AUCCTU chairman called on miners to display restraint and to take into account the economic consequences of the protracted dramatic events.

Minister M.I. Shchadov provided a detailed briefing on miners' demands which have already been met—on granting greater enterprise autonomy, payment for evening and night shift work, construction of a number of socially important projects, institution of a fixed day off on Sundays, and so on.

The call to end the strike and resume the extraction and shipment of coal echoed again from the platform. M.A. Srebnny, chairman of the trade union's Central Committee, also spoke of this on local television that evening. At the same time, and on behalf of the trade union Central Committee, he firmly supported the miners' just demands.

We have already reported that the continuation of the strike is fraught with serious consequences for many national economic sectors. A.G. Tuleyev, chief of the Kemerovo Railroad, cited the following figures: Whereas 7,000 freight cars loaded with fuel are normally dispatched to consumers from the coalfield every 24 hours, the figure for the last few days has stood at only 2,600-2,700. Metallurgy sector workers are sounding the alarm: They are left with only minimum stocks of coking coal. Power industry workers are equally alarmed.

During the rally in Kemerovo I spoke with G.M. Fadeyev, first deputy minister of railways. He voiced grave concern over the fact that individuals who have attached themselves to striking miners here and there are thwarting the prompt unloading of trains bringing freight, including food supplies, to the oblast, and are delaying trains which pass through the Kuzbass in transit to other regions.

It must be said that, in many of the oblast's cities, the miners themselves are concerned about the economic damage that could be inflicted by further work stoppages, including coal shipments. Now it is up to the oblast strike committee (it is being transformed into a working committee!), which was elected in Prokopyevsk on Sunday by delegates from all mining cities. The committee is headed by USSR People's Deputy T. Avaliani, a miner from Kiselevsk.

In the evening the government commission flew out of Kemerovo to Prokopyevsk to meet the working committee and the city's miners.

Deputy Medikov Comments on Strike

LD1807101289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Interview with Deputy Viktor Yakovlevich Medikov and an unidentified deputy by unidentified correspondent during a break in the Supreme Soviet proceedings on 17 July in the Kremlin; from the "Vremya" news-cast—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Resolving legislative issues—that is probably how to define the main task of our Soviet parliament. Frequently, however, we witness issues being submitted here in the session hall which are dictated by life itself. Viktor Yakovlevich [Medikov] has just been speaking from the rostrum here and he was speaking literally as the representative of the strike committee, of the Kemerovo strike committee. Is that so?

[Medikov] Well, I have taken on myself the responsibility to speak, at least, because I believe that our views coincide and we must work out solutions together. The situation in the Kuzbass is very serious now of course and there is no relief in sight yet.

[Correspondent] They say that 110,000 people did not go to work yesterday?

[Medikov] Yes. Yes. Nikolay Ivanovich said that they were working at Mezhdurechensk, but in fact it is not working either for all practical purposes. The mines are all idle and the open-cast sections are all idle. Many other organizations are also joining in already. But the good thing is—and I am pleased about this—that all extremists have been cast off. For example, the miners would not admit them. They have taken power fully into

their own hands. Now they should call a halt. Going on will lead to a negative outcome, both economically and probably even sociopolitically.

If there are solutions, they must be put into form. The other thing is that these issues can be returned to if they are not carried out and if there is no progress. The Kuzbass can, the strike committee can—it is now a permanently functioning committee—always announce another Kuzbass-wide strike. But I don't think it will come to that.

[Correspondent] So, there has been an appeal to end the strike because it could become a critical moment for the country too if the strike continues. Is that so?

[Unidentified deputy] Yes, it has already become one, essentially. I would only like to say that we are not trying to pull the economy's bed covers over to our own side, to the side of the Kuzbass. By solving the problems which are particular to the Kuzbass we are also solving the problems of the country as a whole, you see. And the deputies which spoke in support from the Ukraine, from the Donbass, have confirmed this. Therefore, a solution to the problems needs to be sought both on the spot and at the center. That is the only way. [passage omitted]

Strikes Continue in Abkhazia

AU1707135089 Paris AFP in English 1217 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 17 (AFP)—Georgians went on strike Monday in the Soviet autonomous republic of Abkhazia as inter-community clashes which left 14 dead at the weekend went into a third day, a source at the local official GRUZ-INFORM news agency said. There were strikes in all Abkhazian towns and in adjacent parts of western Georgia, and clashes in most of the Abkhazian towns, he said. The violence, which has left some 120 injured, flared in the Abkhazian capital Sukhumi around the university, where demonstrators demanded it be separated from the university in the Georgian capital Tbilisi.

An official on the Communist Party's township committee in Sukhumi said by telephone that the Black Sea resort of more than 120,000 people was calm, but the rest of the region was "very tense".

A leader of the Abkhazian Popular Forum, Sergey Shamba, said flights at Sukhumi airport had been "completely interrupted", but two military planes had arrived overnight with 1,500 soldiers to restore order. He said the Forum, an informal movement which wants Abkhazia separated from Georgia, had been asking for several weeks for a curfew in the region and the stationing of special forces from the interior ministry.

But Georgian Party leader Givi Gumbaridze, who went to Sukhumi at the weekend, had again refused, Mr. Shamba said. Abkhazians were now awaiting a decision

from the Supreme Soviet (parliament) currently in session in Moscow, he added. Asked if there were alternatives to violence to get their case heard, Mr. Shamba replied: "No. We had previously tried all democratic ways, we wrote to our soviet, a parliamentary commission came last month to check out the situation, but nothing has happened."

A Georgian nationalist source said the clashes were going on in the main lakeside towns of Ochamchire, Gudauta and Gagra. Manana Gamsakhurdia, wife of nationalist chief Zviad Gamsakhurdia, said that at Gudauta, the only town with an Abkhazian majority, the inhabitants had surrounded neighbouring villages and their Georgian residents, imposing a veritable blockade. She said the Georgian Popular Front formed at Tbilisi at the end of June, and comprising most nationalist leaders, had sent an open letter to President Mikhail Gorbachev complaining about the "passivity of the forces of order." The letter said the local authorities had failed to take measures to dampen down the tension which had clearly been mounting for several months. "If the public powers do nothing, the social forces themselves will defend the life and honour of the people," the letter said. Mrs. Gamsakhurdia confirmed strikes had started in Georgian towns and said the nationalists were thinking of calling the whole of Georgia out.

A 1979 census puts the Abkhazian minority, mostly Moslems, at 83,000, compared with 213,000 Georgians in the autonomous republic which is formally attached to Georgia.

There is suspicion among some Georgians that a part of the Moscow leadership is encouraging the Abkhazian agitation as a way of hampering Georgian nationalists.

Strikers Seek Coal Price Hike

PM1807100589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by special correspondents P. Voroshilov and A. Solov'yev: "On Events in the Kuzbass"]

[Text] Taking into account an urgent request from the collective of the West Siberian Metallurgical Combine, the "Yubileynaya" and "Polosukhinskaya" Mines have resumed the supply of coal. The stoppage of coke-oven batteries has been averted. But anxious telegrams are beginning to arrive from steelmen in the Urals and southern Ukraine.

The situation that has come about was discussed at a session of the recently formed oblast strike committee in Prokopyevsk. Alas, it was not possible to arrive at an agreed decision. Miners' representatives from Mezhdurechensk, Kemerovo, and Novokuznetsk spoke out against halting coal shipments. The rest took either a negative or a temporizing stand, making it dependent on how their demands are satisfied.

Proposals from Coal Industry Minister M. Shchadov, local party and soviet workers, and directors of enterprises and associations to enter into negotiations with the oblast strike committee were not crowned with success.

What is being discussed?

Above all, an increase in coal prices. The miners believe they have the right to sell coal at contract prices. The country's cheapest coal is produced from Kuzbass mines and open pits. But the prices for it are such that enterprises cannot make ends meet, make low profits or a loss, and have insufficient funds for the renewal of equipment and technology and the accelerated development of housing construction and the social and consumer infrastructure. Therefore the demand is being advanced to grant coal industry enterprise collectives full economic independence and to increase deductions into the local budget.

In addition, approximately 10 million tonnes of coal which has not been paid for by consumers has accumulated at Kuzbass depots since the beginning of the year. Its quality is deteriorating, and there have been cases of spontaneous combustion. And now, when a speaker from the platform urges people to begin work, they reasonably object: "Why pile up new mountains on the existing mountains of stocks?"

The strike has embraced all coal associations fully or partially. For 4 days now large rallies have been held in Prokopyevsk, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, Belovo, and Bere-zovskiy. But the strike committees do not know which of their demands have been accepted and which rejected. In Kemerovo the strike committee adheres to this stand: to prevent the strike spreading to other enterprises, particularly chemical ones, to maintain order in the city, to sit down at the negotiating table as soon as possible, and to find a solution to urgent problems. The miners are well aware of the degree of their responsibility, consider the strike a forced measure, resolutely suppress attempts to impart a political hue to it, and call for order.

A government commission has arrived in the Kuzbass. It consists of representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Strike Continues 18 Jul

PM1807114989 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Jul 89 p 2

[Report by "our special correspondents" N. Goncharov and A. Parshintsev: "There Can Be No More Lingering"]

[Text] Prokopyevsk-Kemerovo—The Kuzbass miners' strike is continuing. The main events in recent days have taken place in Prokopyevsk. A meeting of the CPSU oblast committee [obkom] bureau has been held here followed by a joint sitting of the strike committees of the mining cities at which an oblast strike committee was formed.

All agreed that a critical time has come in the development of events. Everything that Minister M. Shchadov and the local leaders could do has been done. Many of the strikers' demands have been met, including the demand to grant autonomy to mines and pits, to create mining associations on a voluntary basis, to pay for night shifts, to carry out polls when erecting new mining enterprises, to transfer a number of administrative buildings to serve as pioneers' centers and medical institutions, and other demands. Under pressure from persistent demands, the minister and M. Srebnny, chairman of the sectorial trade union central committee, decided not to cease paying all strikers.

Many telegrams from all corners of the country had arrived at the auditorium where the strike committees' sitting was taking place. Many of the telegrams were from metallurgical workers. The workers of Krivoy Rog, Yenakiyevo, Temirtau, and Magnitogorsk appeal with alarm to the strikers, ask them not to halt coal deliveries, and remind them of the grave consequences which will ensue in the event of unconsidered decisions. People in the auditorium received these portents of calamity in various ways. Many miners decided unreservedly to continue coal deliveries as a sign of solidarity with the metallurgical workers. But we shall not conceal the fact that there were also miners who sniggered gloatingly when the telegrams were read out in the auditorium. Eventually they managed to launch a protracted debate which exacerbated the already tense atmosphere. Then Kuznetsov, an angry miner from Berezovskiy City, forced his way to the microphone:

"You have throats of cast iron, but where is the sense? You are bringing the entire metallurgical industry to its knees. Just think what will follow. At our 'Zyryanovskaya' mine people are already burning the overloaded fuel stocks. The coal must be unloaded immediately. The mine is at the center of a settlement. What if there is an explosion? Who then will be to blame? The strike? The mine is our wet nurse. Are we going to smother it with our own hands?..."

But these voices of reason were drowned among cries of "We shall not unload it! Otherwise we shall achieve nothing!" Our colleague, PRAVDA own correspondent Antonin Bogachuk, could not stand it. He rushed to the microphone as though it were an opening in the fortifications: "What are you doing? Do you understand where you are going?..." But the microphone had already been torn from his hands. And again the auditorium drowned in conflicting cries.

At the tensest moment of the dispute a government telegram signed by M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov was brought in. The chairman read out the text:

"To the miners and all working people of the Kuzbass!
"Dear comrades!

"The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Government have received your appeals and the demands expressed in them on questions of the region's socioeconomic development.

"A commission consisting of Comrade N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Comrade S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, has been sent to the Kuzbass to examine your proposals

"The commission has been instructed to study the problems on the spot, to take practical steps on urgent questions of the development of the Kuzbass for the long term, and to prepare proposals with you and submit them to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government.

"In announcing this we ask the miners and all workers of the Kuzbass to display a high level of awareness, sense, and responsibility, and to resume work."

There was a long silence in the auditorium. Then persistent appeals were heard to strike until the commission arrived and to halt the strike for the duration of its work. But even that turn of events did not suit many people. They decided to end the talk the next day...

We heard its continuation in the oblast center. From early morning sympathizers or the simply curious began to converge on Soviets Square to join the miners who had spent the night there. Groups of excited people gathered here and there. At the center of one was Anatoliy Targayev, a member of the Kemerovo City strike committee. We asked him what his attitude is toward the discussion on coal deliveries from the basin.

"As you know, this question has been passed on for examination by the city strike committees. As for us Kemerovo miners, we have decided to dispatch coal for urgent needs. The other strike committees are doing the same, as far as I know. Only in Berezovskiy have we been called strike breakers..."

Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Kryzhin, a miner from the "Severnaya" mine, approached.

"We all want to end the strike as quickly as possible. But we must achieve a fundamental breakthrough with regard to the miners and the Kuzbass as a whole. We are all in favor of perestroika. And we want our leaders' words to tally with their deeds."

One more opinion, from Petr Nikolayevich Aleksandrov, a miner at the mine named for Volkov:

"I have been mining coal for nearly 30 years. My native land is here. I will strike to the end, until our just demands are met. I am not the only one to think that. Look at the placards, they say it all."

Along the rostrum were hastily written appeals: "We shall strike to victory!", "Regional economic accountability for the Kuzbass!", "Perestroyka in deeds, not words!", "The Kuzbass is not a colony", "Miners, the veterans are with you!", and "The chemical workers support you!"

While the miners are striking the elemental forces of mining are operating indomitably underground. For instance, shafts at the "Raspidskaya" mine have been heavily flooded and equipment has been damaged. Only by a miracle did the "Novokuznetskaya" mine avoid flooding. Its director rushed to the strike committee and announced that he was refusing responsibility for the situation. Only then, a few minutes before the impending disaster, did the miners rush to save the enterprise. Now, as we write these lines, a report has come in that the Mezhdurechensk miners are reaching their plan indicators. But since the start of the strike, the Kuzbass miners have been responsible for a shortfall of over 1.5 million tonnes of coal. Enormous harm has been done to the economy of the oblast and the entire country.

The murky wave of stories which provocateurs anxious to get in on the strike are actively trying to spread is continuing unabated. In Osinniki, for instance, the inciters launched a rumor claiming that a whole KGB division was being sent to the city. The agents of the so-called "Democratic Union" are operating particularly zealously. A. Manannikov, a member of the Novosibirsk division of the Democratic Union, appeared in Kemerovo with press bulletins from his Siberian agency which he tried to distribute with the aid of like-minded Kemerovo inhabitants V. Kolesnikov and M. Batugin. The strikers confiscated the inflammatory concoction from them and turned them out of the meeting. They did exactly the same to one Iriskin, who forced his way to the microphone.

In Prokopyevsk, members of the strike committee detained Soviet citizen Romas Dobrukas, who claimed to be a U.S. television correspondent. He explained his appearance in Prokopyevsk as an editorial mission to collect information on the progress of the strike and showed an NBC correspondent's card. Members of the strike committee sent Dobrukas packing from the city.

The commission headed by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Kemerovo yesterday. In Soviets Square the commission met with the striking miners and inhabitants of Kemerovo. N.N. Slyunkov delivered a speech to the gathering and answered the miners' questions. In the evening the commission members traveled to Prokopyevsk to meet with the oblast strike committee.

City Leaders Blamed for Strike

PM1407174589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Special Correspondent A. Solovyev report: "Unexpected Development: Miners' Strike in Mezhdurechensk Continues"]

[Excerpt] Mezhdurechensk, Kemerovo Oblast—[Passage omitted] Mezhdurechensk is unique in many respects. The city has 110,000 inhabitants and produces around 30 million tonnes of coal. Where else would you find a small city with such output? Mezhdurechensk is beautiful: It is ringed by tree-covered mountains, below it is the cool River Tom—a land of abundance, holiday homes, a Switzerland in Siberia. But in winter everything is covered in soot. And this beautiful land produces neither grain nor vegetables: Wherever you look, it's clay. Thus, whereas other mining cities receive something from nearby state and collective farms, subsidiary plots, and farmsteads, Mezhdurechensk receives nothing.

Of course the strike did not just erupt because of the empty shelves in the food stores, where even children's milk is hard to buy. The host of problems which accumulated during the years of stagnation have been exposed by perestroyka within enterprises themselves. It exposed them but did not resolve them. Collectives seem to have been given many rights, but the slow progress of the economic reform prevents their implementation. Under its existing status the mine isn't even formally an independent enterprise—such as an association—and it is as far removed from that as it is from the ministry.

That is why even those questions which could quite possibly have been resolved here in Mezhdurechensk by the efforts of the collectives themselves have remained on ice. The extension of paid leave for mothers to look after their children, additional payments to invalids, the fairer distribution of profits, the technical modernization of mines, the improvement of housing construction....

What about the local authorities? A chance coincidence, perhaps, but a fact: Both N. Zavyalov, chairman of the Mezhdurechensk City executive committee, and Yu. Cherepov, first secretary of the party city committee, have been on vacation these past days. Had they been here it would have been far hotter for them than for the minister and his deputies or A. Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo party oblast committee, and A. Lyutenko, chairman of the oblast executive committee. The fact that many questions could have been dealt with on the spot is evident even from the letters which miners at the rally gave me. Common or garden domestic problems maybe, but the miners, who had simply lost faith in their leaders, resorted to a strike....

Strikers Demands 'Satisfied'

18220163 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 2

[Report by Yu. Kotlyarov and V. Klimov (Mezhdurechensk-Kemerovo): "Miners' Demands Satisfied, But..."]

[Text] Mezhdurechensk is a mining town. It is essentially divided into two spheres of influence. One is the industrial part, which includes the Yuzhkuzbassugol Association, and the other includes the Kemerovougol Association. The two departments are located in different cities of the oblast. Earning a considerable amount of money, the miners of Mezhdurechensk have had to place it at the disposal of their "patrons." Therefore, the strikers' main demand of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry was to grant economic independence to the underground and strip mines. At the first meeting with the strikers, Minister M.I. Shchadov told the miners that they were not ready for economic independence, that this takes time. The miners responded with a vigorous protest. It took the minister a few more days of consultation before toward morning on 13 July he signed the order to grant the Mezhdurechensk mines the status of state enterprises—and economic independence.

At noon yesterday, when the crowd of many thousands in the square had not diminished, we spoke with the deputy chairman of the strike committee, an underground combine operator, S.A. Miglazov. He had in his hands the orders signed by M.I. Shchadov and government telegrams announcing the satisfaction of various of the miners' demands.

"The majority of our demands," said S. Miglazov, "have been satisfied. The miners have been given the main thing—independence. There is an order to establish firm rates for extracting a ton of coal and tunneling through 1 meter of rock. And here is a telegram from the health minister, Ye.I. Chazov, who promises in the near future to render assistance to the city with medicines and medical supplies. They have already sent us 25,000 disposable syringes."

At 1500, the strike committee announced that the strike had been broken off and called for the workers of Mezhdurechensk to go to work on the morning of 14 July. The central square emptied within an hour...

The situation in Mezhdurechensk seems to have normalized, but it is too early to be complacent. In the neighboring city of Osinniki, following the miners of Kapitalnaya, all the rest of the mines declared a strike. They were joined by the builders of the administrations which also belong to the Ministry of the Coal Industry and workers of several other enterprises. According to the estimate of the first secretary of the CPSU gorkom [city committee], D.F. Nikitin, the emergency has spread all over the city. The strikers have filled the square and open spaces near the gorispolkom [city executive committee].

As in Mezhdurechensk, a strike committee has been elected. The demands are already known: to grant independence to the collectives, to put a stop to diktat from above, to regulate wages...

And already by yesterday evening the coal enterprises of Novokuznetsk and Prokopyevsk were not operating. The demands were the same.

As in Mezhdurechensk, in these cities strict worker control was established over the observance of public order. All wine stores and restaurants were closed. In cooperation with the police, the slightest violations of the law were stopped.

What position did social organizations take in this situation? Party and trade union organs openly expressed their solidarity with the basic demands of the miners. At the majority of mines decisions were made to provide the strikers with free food and transportation paid for with trade union or enterprise funds.

Ryzhkov's 17 Jul Supreme Soviet Concluding Speech

PM1807104989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the 17 July Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin; under the headline: "Realism of Practical Actions. N.I. Ryzhkov's Concluding Address at the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Esteemed members of the USSR Supreme Soviet! On behalf of the country's newly formed government, allow me to express our gratitude for the honor granted to us, confirmation in the supreme posts of state power. We are profoundly grateful that the members of the government have received a genuine mandate of confidence. We will justify this by practical deeds in the name of our great country and the interests of citizens.

We are fully aware that we are beginning our activity in a difficult and crucial time for the country. It is for this reason that the people have the right to expect from the government decisive joint actions with the USSR Supreme Soviet, large-scale and strenuous work to ensure that the processes of perestroika are sharply accelerated, and the attainment in the next few years of specific, positive, and practical economic and social results, as well as in all other spheres of activity.

The primary goal is clear: What is necessary is a breakthrough to a new quality of life for Soviet people. But this is impossible without an economically powerful state, which our society has to create. Such is the task which has been laid at the foundation of our future activity. It makes it incumbent upon us to even more actively and energetically struggle for the common cause; to make perestroika irreversible, relying upon the

mighty support of the country's citizens, so clearly demonstrated by the unprecedented upsurge of political activity at the Congress of People's Deputies.

The debates that have been completed in the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding the formation of a new government summed up a major stage in the work of the commissions and committees and also of the first session of our parliament. Typical features of these days are trenchant discussions and specific issues and the aspiration to penetrate deep into the processes taking place in the economy and social life and to make use of every opportunity to define more precisely one's position and to perceive what attitude the candidates for the leading posts in the state have to that position. All this contains within it a great meaning and useful principles which, in the final analysis, greatly contributed to drawing up the first practical steps of the joint work of the people's deputies and candidates for membership to the USSR Council of Ministers.

This is on one hand; on the other, the speeches of the people's deputies showed the whole gamut of problems inherent in our society. They made a serious addition to that wide range of urgent issues, goals, and tasks which the government had to tackle both in the near future and in the long-term and upon which the further progress of economic reform and the state of affairs in the economy will depend. Of fundamental importance here is the fact that the mutual link between these issues and their mutual dependence on one another have become clearer, as has, in a number of cases, the need to amend previous decisions.

Thus, armed with this extremely valuable experience—little as it may be—we are entering upon a new stage of joint activity of the government, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and its commissions and committees. The main demand upon this both now and in the long-term is—as you will probably agree—subordination in every possible way of joint efforts to the common goals, maximum precision and mutual responsibility. In this connection, I would like, without dwelling upon all the diversity of issues raised at this session—all the more so in that these were discussed in the report on the new composition of the government—to draw your attention to just one thing, upon which the success of the implementation of everything we are undertaking will to a great degree depend. The fact is that the following words were voiced from this tribune: "The executive body, that is the USSR Council of Ministers, has seized all the power in the country." Such an opinion is apparently widespread. Evidence of this can be seen in the fact the supreme executives and governing body of state power was criticized most of all both at the congress and during the work of the session.

It must be said that this criticism was directed mainly at one target: the USSR Council of Ministers. The impression is that it is indeed only the Council of Ministers of the Union that governs all affairs in the country and it must bear the responsibility for everything.

I would like, therefore, to dwell particularly on the question of government's authoritative powers. I think that this is the time when complete clarity is needed on this. First of all, it is apparently beyond argument that the effectiveness of the work of the country's supreme legislative body and the implementation of its decisions and legislative acts are most directly dependent upon how effective its supreme executive and governing body is. Fully appropriate here is the formula that says that the strength of a parliament is conditioned directly by the strength and the competence of those who ensure in practice the fulfilment of its legislative powers. But from this there also directly follows the fact that the government will certainly work most effectively when the legislative power provides it with a complete and precise legal regime.

What has been typical through recent times? First and foremost, the fact that the country had to be governed, and that we did so under conditions of an enormous shortage of laws. Economic legislation reflected the stereotypes of obsolete approaches and solutions and exerted a negative influence upon the progress of perestroika in the national economy. However, we did everything possible to ensure that the executive and governing functions placed upon the government by the constitution were carried out in full measure at the proper time.

Taking all this into account, it appears that the issue of the levels of competence of the supreme legislative and the supreme executive and governing bodies of the country has to be sorted out and clarified. Indeed, not infrequently the government has decided issues that from the viewpoint of today's ideas belong to the jurisdiction of the supreme legislative bodies, but of course this has been explained not by any desire on the part of the government to obtain more power but by the fact that in some cases—as I have already said—there was no appropriate legislative regulation in a number of areas of state activity, and in others, issues required immediate resolution in a situation in which the sessions of the Supreme Soviet were convened no more frequently than twice a year for 2 or 3 days.

Proceeding from the real power of the former supreme legislative body, the Council of Ministers, jointly with the CPSU Central Committee, worked out and confirmed the most important all-union programs for the economic and social development of the USSR: the food program, the power program, the integrated program for the development of the production of consumer goods and the services sphere, the state program for the development of medicine, building, and the reconstruction of roads in the non-black earth zone of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and so on. If one were to continue this list, then one could say that the government also made decisions on some problems of legal regulation. We consider that all these and other issues, particularly those linked with citizens rights and freedoms, must be regulated by the law. The Council of Ministers made decisions on them

only because no one in the country was making these decisions. I believe that a careful analysis of the competence of the government and the Supreme Soviet will highlight many other areas where there should be a more precise demarcation between the functions of the executive and the legislative power.

It would be a profound error to imagine that as the activity of the representative bodies is stepped up and as the legislative base is widened, the work of the Council of Ministers will proceed in ever increasing contradiction to the powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. On the contrary, the opportunity to rely upon the whole might of the law possessing supreme juridical force will impart to government activity a qualitatively new character corresponding with the requirements of the law-governed state. I am completely in agreement with what flows from the speeches of many people's deputies that what is vitally necessary at this particular time, when a state of that kind is emerging, is an effectively functioning, rationally organized, and purposeful government, invested with all the powers of a supreme executive and governing body of power and implementing them fully.

In short, the issue of the relationship between legislative and executive power is a very important one which requires special consideration and study. Evidently, appropriate attention will be given to it during the work of the constitutional commission that has been set up by the congress and during the preparation of a number of legislative acts on the instructions of the congress. With that I would like to conclude my exposition of this subject.

Comrades, the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session have cast light on a large number of very difficult problems in the development of the economy, the social and cultural field, and other fields of the country's life that have a direct bearing on the interests of the Soviet people. You have seen first hand just how multifaceted the whole spectrum of these problems is. In the past 3 weeks, dozens of future leaders—the top link in the administration—have passed before the deputies, and thanks to the mass media before the whole nation, with their programs for future work. The result is that we have quite a full picture of how our economy stands today and of what must be done.

Generally speaking, the dialogue that there has been these past days at the session, together with the numerous questions and appeals from deputies—and incidentally, I personally have received around 700—could be divided into three parts. The first is the need for the current and immediate tasks to be fulfilled. They must all be carefully scrutinized and resolved as best they can, particularly those that have a direct bearing on the life of Soviet people. I can tell you that a few days ago a decision was made on one such problem, about which there had been very trenchant comment both at the congress and the session: 500 million rubles' worth of medicinal preparations in short supply are to be bought abroad.

I think you will understand that, given the country's present foreign currency situation, the increase in its foreign economic indebtedness, and the sharp reaction in society to the present export structure and the receipt from it of foreign currency, it was no easy matter to make this decision. Moreover, because anyone who wished to could criticize the government for this step, too.

The second part of the dialogue includes all the long-term programs which affect the work both of the government as a whole and of the individual members of the cabinet and which they put forward here. The main task now is to ensure that all these programs lie at the heart of the forthcoming work of each minister and each chairman of a state committee. They must be put into practice and must not remain merely speeches delivered from this platform.

And finally the last thing to emerge from the extremely important discussion at the session refers, figuratively speaking, to the global problems of the socio-economic development of our country and raising the living standards of Soviet people.

All of these actually exist and must undoubtedly be resolved. It is here that the wisdom of the state administration will be tested to the utmost. I think we are as one in believing that all these problems cannot be solved in one fell swoop. The economic situation is such that to set about this with an extended front would mean creating a very dire situation in the country. In order to avoid this, our priorities must be clearly defined, our opportunities weighed, and then on the basis of this we must foresee our true goals and milestones. That is the main thing.

At the heart of this approach, which is dictated by life itself, lies the fact that we have strictly limited and very definite material and financial resources. These must be targeted to achieve the greatest possible benefit in raising the people's well-being. But this task is so many-sided and multifaceted that those priorities I spoke of acquire a special significance here. In short, figuratively speaking, we need to arrange these priorities and to have a very clear idea of what cannot be avoided today, what can and must be tackled tomorrow, and what should be left for later. I should say that it would be premature and probably rash to draw up these priorities today. This should be done after thorough joint study by the Supreme Soviet and the government. But all the same, I ought to voice my firm conviction that the main priority in the material sphere of production belongs today to the countryside. Our main misfortune is the lag in the development of the agro-industrial complex and the consequent perpetual shortage of foodstuffs. This is the source of many problems, giving rise to social tension in society. We have a lot of work to do together that is connected with implementing the steps to get the countryside on its feet which stem from the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies.

All this, in effect, will form the substantive part of the responsibility that the Supreme Soviet and the country's government are obliged to shoulder. Harvesting has gotten under way in the country, and we must resolve efficiently all current issues, including wages for agricultural workers. We must do everything possible to successfully carry out the harvest and prevent loss of produce. That is the main thing today. It is perfectly understandable that the tasks and objectives being fixed in connection with this can only be achieved on the basis of efficient functioning of the national economy. Hence the most important thing is to direct efforts toward creation, rather than concentrating them merely on devising and implementing a mechanism for distributing the national wealth. Together, we have to set up economic, legal, and organizational conditions that will allow the national economy and all labor collectives to develop steadily and dynamically, and each citizen of the country, to work fruitfully. This principle alone should form the basis of all management logic that is acceptable nowadays and provides an opportunity of meeting the people's expectations.

We live in a country rich in natural and human resources, and we ought to live considerably better than we do at the moment. The question naturally arises as to why we cannot achieve this; what is the reason? It is perfectly clear that it is not the people who are to blame for this, but the system of economic and legal relations that has evolved in the state. It is to the radical transformation of this, in the aim of raising Soviet people's living standards, that both the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's government have to direct their efforts.

We shall, of course, have to overcome many objective difficulties in what needs to be done, such as the years-long neglect of spheres of the economy that are meant to meet man's needs, the slide toward an ecological crisis in a number of regions in the country, the fact that some elements of the management mechanism have not been worked out, and a number of others. But neither can one omit to note just how much the importance of strengthening discipline, good organization, and order in all spheres of the economy and society as a whole is growing, in connection with the intensification of the economic reform and the political changes that have begun in the state.

Of late, all this has somehow taken a back seat, and has fallen out of the field of vision of many party, local soviet, and economic bodies. As a result, the adverse processes that are beginning to develop in certain industries, krais, oblasts, and republics are aggravating the situation in the country more and more. The urgent conflictual issues in various labor collectives cannot be resolved by strong-arm methods. They must be resolved on the basis of a law on examining group conflicts, and as you know, such a draft has been presented to the Supreme Soviet. It is clear that transformations in the political and economic systems and in others spheres of public life should be based on a high level of discipline,

of organization and order, and on the consolidation of all forces. These issues are interlinked and require proper attention and practical work from the supreme soviet and the soviet government.

After being confirmed at the present session, the USSR Council of Ministers will examine all the issues raised here, and once again appraise and, of course, correct its program of action. With due consideration for the situation that has taken shape in the economy, it will, of course, be necessary to examine closely the entire organization of the government's work, the structural formations of the national-economic complexes and also the inner structure of the USSR Council of Ministers apparatus. All this is to be tackled without delay in the framework of the real practical work with which the newly-formed government should begin to take its first steps.

Particular attention, comrades, has been devoted at this session to matters connected with the development of the social sphere. This is natural, since it is bound up with every Soviet person's daily life. In this connection, proposals were made for the significance of this complex in the government to be enhanced. Of course, we approached the matter of achieving a correct alignment of forces very thoroughly in the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. I would like to inform the people's deputies of the decision we have adopted—that Comrade Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as tackling current operational matters of the Union ministries and republics, will work in earnest on problems connected with saturating the consumer market with consumer goods. So in this, the Bureau for Social Development of the USSR Council of Ministers is gaining powerful support, as they say.

I would like to dwell separately on the matter raised by people's deputies at the congress and the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR concerning problems related to the development of culture in the country. One can understand the serious concern heard in a number of speeches over the need to reinforce ethical principles in public life and the unfading values of cultural heritage, of which even the smallest loss would be irreparable for the whole of society, and over shortcomings in attitudes to the complicated situations arising in the world of art, national education, and in much else besides.

All of this to a greater or lesser extent has become linked with the importance of the radical transformations being implemented in the sphere of state administration. We have held consultations on all these problems in the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers. It seems that it will be correct if the Bureau for Social Development concentrates its efforts on the material bases of the social and cultural sphere. At the same time, it has been deemed expedient to set up an independent section for culture and people's education in the Council of Ministers of the USSR, directly subordinate to the head of the government of the country.

Several bitter and just reproaches were expressed by people's deputies on behalf of their electors about the fact that the state clearly pays insufficient attention to the situation of women in society, to creating conditions for strengthening the family, to forming effective legal bases for the protection of motherhood and childhood. The urgency of these questions is evident. They all demand a solution. They must be dealt with not case by case but on a daily basis, on the basis of a systematic approach to the complex problems of raising the role of women in political, economic, and other areas of public life, of ensuring social protection at work and in daily life. In a word, there is a whole host of matters in this field. In order to deal with them properly, appropriate committees and commissions have been formed in the USSR Supreme Soviet, as everyone knows. The government has examined this too, and has come to the conclusion that it is also essential to set up an independent section of the USSR Council of Ministers on women's affairs, and the protection of the family, motherhood, and childhood. Evidently this section too needs to be included in the sphere of the direct activity of the head of the government.

Comrades, the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and of the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR set the government quite specific and multifarious tasks which must be implemented in the current year. In this very short space of time, we have to do a huge volume of work together. Evidently there is no need to dwell on this in detail. But I will touch on the main things nevertheless. First and foremost this is the preparation of the plans for economic and social development for 1990, and also the main trends for the 13th 5-Year Plan period, in which it is essential to provide for a whole aggregate of measures that will make it possible to overcome the negative processes in the economy. Serious work has to be done in working out and adopting decisions on the most trenchant and urgent social problems, measures which we agreed at the Congress of People's Deputies must be implemented from 1 January next year. We have the task of seeing that this year, no later than October, the government should have completed the preparation of a new draft law on pension provision, so that once it has been worked through and adopted by the supreme soviet, it will come into force at the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

With the aim of further developing and deepening economic reform, the government will examine and present to the Supreme Soviet a draft law prepared with the participation of the Council of Ministers of the union republics on restructuring the management of the economic and social sphere in the union republics on the basis of self-administration and self-financing. This law must be an important step in the business of consolidating forces, of deepening the division of labor taking into account the specific character and potential of each union republic, of widening economic links on a mutually advantageous basis, and of forming a socialist market as quickly as possible. Giving new and supplementary rights to the union republics and local

administrative bodies should certainly increase their responsibility for the solution of many questions in people's lives about which the deputies were forced to speak at this all-union rostrum.

The discussions at the congress, and the examination of government proposals at the sessions of the commissions and committees and at the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have shown that the situation that has arisen in the economy, especially its financial state, the balance between the consumer market and the money in circulation, and the need for a thorough improvement in the whole economic management system based on the use of diverse forms of property, and other questions of economic reform, demand that the relevant package of legislative acts should be worked out and adopted without delay. Without such an effective legal basis it will be difficult to count realistically on speedy changes in the social and economic development of the country.

In this connection we are faced with work, immense in scale and complexity, to restructure the legislative system, to list the whole legislative and normative mass that has accumulated over many decades and which bears the stamp of methods of administration of all aspects of our social life that have long been obsolete. We need profound, professional work to systematize and codify legislation, resolving the ultimate task of creating a genuine code of laws of the USSR. Much has to be done in a short time on the legislative assertion of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Of course, all bodies of the state, and first and foremost the higher bodies of power and administration, must take part in this work.

In a word, comrades, the reform of the political system has created a permanently sitting parliament for our country. This is a new situation, which demands a reconsideration of the relations between the government and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that have grown up, active joint work toward the common aims of perestroika, the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and of permanent dialogue on the most important questions. It is from this that we intend to begin our activity. Here it is extremely important not to lose those new principles in the system of businesslike contacts which have started to be consistently established, and which are being perfected more and more between the government and the Supreme Soviet.

This system must be precise and perfect and must develop and operate in the best traditions of glasnost and democracy.

Esteemed comrades! The formation of the government has been completed today. This event in itself is no ordinary one in the life of society and was perhaps the most unusual one in the many decades during which the Soviets have existed in our country. By rights this time

will enter the history of our state as one of the most important links in the steadily developing process of democratic transformations.

A complex and extremely fruitful dialogue between People's Deputies and candidates for the highest government posts has been developing for 3 weeks in this hall at a strenuous pace. For 3 weeks the Soviet people have been taking part in a distinctive way in the formation of the government. They have not been voting but have expressed their opinions in letters, telegrams, and the press.

Esteemed citizens of the country! Permit me on behalf of the government which has just been formed to express to you my sincere gratitude for your refusal to be indifferent and for your support which we felt constantly. It is the duty of the new government to justify the high level of trust of the people. (applause)

TASS Cites Speech

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[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has described the forming of the new Soviet Government, which concluded today in the Supreme Soviet, as "a most important link in the consistent process of democratic changes in the country. It was the first time in Soviet history that each member of the government was discussed and confirmed by parliament on an individual basis". In his address at the Supreme Soviet session today, Ryzhkov summed up the results of the discussion of the new government and said that the past three weeks had been marked by "an extremely fruitful dialogue" between government candidate members and Supreme Soviet deputies. It laid bare a cross-section of problems inherent in Soviet society.

Noting that the reform of the political system and the establishment of a standing parliament have created principally new conditions for the interaction of the legislature and the executive, the Soviet premier said he favoured strict delimitation of the powers vested in the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers.

Touching upon questions raised by parliamentarians in the course of discussions of the new government's composition, the speaker told deputies that the government has already adopted a number of resolutions dealing with them. Thus, despite the country's difficult financial situation, it was decided to purchase 500 million rubles worth of medical preparations in other countries.

Ryzhkov stressed that as it was impossible to solve all the accumulated problems at once, it was most important to set correct priorities. The development of the agrarian sector is now a priority. Food shortages, he said, lead to social tension.

Ryzhkov briefed the deputies on the restructuring of the administrative machinery which aims to organizationally reinforce measures to implement the social tasks formulated by people's deputies. It was decided to set up special departments of the Council of Ministers which would tackle issues connected with the situation of women and the development of culture.

Among the high priority matters requiring prompt attention, the prime minister pointed to drafting of the plan for 1990 and the coming five-year period (1991-1995).

Ryzhkov stressed that transformations of the life of society "must be based on strict discipline, organization, order and the consolidation of all forces". He called on the parliamentarians to pay special attention to this problem.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Candidates 17 Jul

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[Discussion moderated by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, of the candidacies of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Durosov for the post of first deputy chairman of Gosplan, the USSR State Planning Committee; Nikolay Aleksandrovich Panichev for the post of minister of the machine-tool building industry; and Polad Polad-Zade for the post of minister of water resources construction; from the recorded relay of the 17 July Supreme Soviet session held at the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Lukyanov] Comrade Vladimir Mikhaylovich Yetylen from Chukotka National Territorial Constituency has the floor.

[Yetylen] [Passage omitted] You will recall that a few days ago, a decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium was published on the granting of state awards to a large group of workers of the Severovostokzolto gold extracting association. More than half my electorate are indeed miners from this association. At the same time, as a deputy from Chukotka, I feel a certain doubt about two clauses in the decree of the Supreme Soviet dealing with, first, the introduction of progressive technological processes, and second, the successful solution of questions of the social development of the labor forces.

First of all, if progressive technological processes had really been introduced into the industry, there would not be the barbaric attitude to the north that still prevails, because the technology that is used on the whole does not spare labor, and does not spare the northern nature. When ore is being processed, more than one-third of the tin and one-fourth of the wolfram is lost. Selective

working of the richest sectors of the deposits has become the norm. As a result, the assault on the habitat of the peoples of the north continues.

Finally, I cannot agree about Chukotka, with the evaluation of the successful solution of questions of social development. To this very day the stereotype of the old Stalinist psychology lies heavy on the miners' settlements of Chukotka, in the practice of mastering the north by organizations of the Dalstroy, Norilskstroy, and others types, when people's living conditions, housing, kindergartens, and clubs were considered unnecessary or not essential. It is no longer possible to buy people off with easy money—and what's more, it is not so easy any more. Workers in the mining industry live worse now than workers in other industries. Barracks—which incidentally have, by decision of the authorities, been officially withdrawn from the category of barracks—clearly exist only in Chukotka. As a result, people live in a temporary way, morality is distorted, and many problems crop in the economy, education, culture and so on. [passage omitted on expression of support for Durasov's candidacy]

[Lukyanov] Deputy Dmitriy Yegorovich Ivanov, Yakutiya, wishes to speak.

[Ivanov] [Passage omitted] There are plenty of problems that have piled up in the north. [passage omitted] The average housing in the northern part of our country varies between 4.5 square meters and 9 square meters per person. The provision of standard facilities in health institutions in the far north—you might not believe this, comrades, but it is a fact—is less than 30 percent. According to the results of the 1979 census, the average life expectancy for peoples of the north is 18-26 years lower, that is to say shorter, than the average for the country, and was the same as the indices for 1889. [passage omitted]

Comrades, Gosplan must use a different measure in its approach to the north, and not only because it has extreme conditions for life and production, but because of the very difficult transport system that has arisen there. The cost of capital construction is ten times higher than the average (?for the regions) of our country. [passage omitted] All this has to be borne in mind, of course, when working out the plan for the allocation of (?capital investment) and so on. Because of this, comrades, it seems to me that it is too early for state farms to talk about self-financing and so on, and there will have to be a special approach to the question of the social and economic development of the country.

I have one question left, the last one. Since Vladimir Aleksandrovich [Durasov] will be directly in charge of the questions of the social development of society, I would like to draw his attention to one specific question affecting the interests of my electors. Comrades, it is not one and the same thing to settle down by the Black Sea and on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Everyone should

understand that. In spite of this objective truth, a pensioner living in the subtropics and one living on the bleak, bare tundra get the same amount of pension today. [passage omitted, expresses support for Durasov. Lukyanov introduces next point on the agenda: Panichev's candidacy for the post of minister of the machine tool and tool building industry. Panichev takes the rostrum; begins his speech, noting the importance of the machine tool industry in the national economy]

[Panichev] At the present time an extremely unfavorable correlation has taken shape between the quantity of metal-working equipment in the operating stock and the work force. Thus, for every 100 machine tools there are less than 60 machine tool operators. Seventy percent of the machine tools in stock are low-productivity, general-purpose machines with manual control. [passage omitted] In spite of positive structural improvements, the program for renewal is being implemented with difficulty. We are currently satisfying only 85 percent of stated needs and, in certain varieties of equipment, 50-60 percent. The things that are primarily taking their toll are lack of preparation of the scientific and production potential for the resolution of new tasks, the low level of technology, organization, and standard of production at many enterprises, untrained staff, the serious financial situation, and a lagging behind in the development of the social sphere. [passage omitted] We plan to direct up to 70 percent of capital investments in the forthcoming period towards technical retooling and reconstruction of operating factories, the introduction of progressive automated types of equipment, and resource-saving technologies. [passage omitted] In carrying out conversion of the defense sectors, some of the capacities being freed should also be respecialized for the production of the most hi-tech types of equipment. [passage omitted] We are currently producing 17,000 high-precision machine-tools and we must double this output. A program has been worked out to this effect. [passage omitted] How much in foreign currency does our country spend on machine-tools building equipment and how much does it export? Our industry supplies these tools to the sum of R600 million including R100 million in foreign currency, whereas they are purchased today via the foreign-trade organizations of our ministry to the sum of R420 million. [passage omitted]

[Auyelbekov] Auyelbekov, Kzyl-Orda national territorial constituency. Esteemed Presidium, esteemed people's deputies! I would like, I do not have any negative attitude to the candidacy in question, I support Comrade Panichev, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, and clearly the comrades know (?him), and the more so as I have not had any dealings with him. I would like to address a question to esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. Everyone present is well aware what an acute evaluation was made of the situation in the machine tool building and tool building ministry, sector, of our country. And 3 years ago a decision was made to strengthen this ministry, the minister, Comrade Balmont, was released from his duties, and Comrade Panichev, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, was

sent there for this strengthening. I do not quite understand, on a principled level, why it is, after 3 years of work by Comrade Panichev, the Council of Ministers and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov did not personally recommend him, either in the preceding stages or in the representation to the USSR Supreme Soviet. What has changed over this period of time? Well, maybe those collectives, those comrades who supported Nikolay Aleksandrovich, did the right thing. I would like to know Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's fundamental attitude to this question, and the motives by which he was guided in not recommending him, and what has changed over this period, and can we rely on Comrade Panichev, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, 3 years of work are not 1 year, the more so as he was, as far as I know, previously first deputy minister in this ministry, he had time, and the situation in this ministry still remains complex. As he has reported, 70 percent of the machine tools are unfit, 70 percent only work for one shift, there is a lag behind world standards, so the situation is very complex.

Prior to voting, I would like to resolve the question of the minister of the machine tool and tool building industry, and hear the opinion, if it is possible, of Nikolay Ivanovich on the candidacy in question. Thank you for your attention.

[Lukyanov] Go ahead, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Ryzhkov] Comrades, the formation of the government, members of the government, of course, took a very complex course, and quite a long time. We carried out an attentive examination of each candidacy prior to making our proposals to the Supreme Soviet. This took more than 1 day, more than 1 week, and I think that the fact that we quite carefully approached one or another candidacy for a future minister or chairman of a state committee bore out that we were approaching this problem, this matter, with great responsibility. It is, of course, for the Supreme Soviet to judge what composition should be formed, formed in practice, in the government today, but I think that the fact that we sometimes had doubts about someone does not mean that we do not believe that person, and so on. Yes, indeed, at first we did not submit Comrade Panichev's candidacy for the post of minister of the machine tool building industry. Yes, indeed, we had very serious complaints against Comrade Panichev. He has not been working as minister for very long; he has been working for 3 years. Over this period of time, of course, the sector has made certain strides, but I must say that there were the most enormous complaints against the machine tool building industry on this candidacy.

I am speaking quite frankly. Comrade Panichev is a qualified machine tool builder. He has been through a really big school, from worker to minister, and from the point of view of his technical level, the scale of his thinking, he is worthy, and he really has a very good

understanding of the issues of his sector. We had complaints against him, that the sector was being restructured too slowly, that there were too many complaints, that it was not providing what the national economy needs today. These were our grounds for not immediately submitting, together with all the others, this candidacy. What happened afterwards? We decided to consult, many comrades appealed to me, directors of machine tool building works, specialists who to one degree or another have a connection with this sector, and there were long conversations with me, where they argued that what had happened and those complaints that had been made against Comrade Panichev were natural, because over these 3 years, the sector had been undergoing very intensive restructuring and in point of fact was creating a definite potential for further progress, and that comrade Panichev, in actually creating a potential, was now leaving active work. There were very many such conversations. Then I asked Comrade Silayev to gather together the directors, the leading directors of our country, secretaries of party organizations, people's deputies, and as they say, we spoke on a democratic basis, weighed up whether this was indeed so, and whether foundations had been laid and he had really done a great deal, and there was not the possibility of moving ahead more dynamically, or whether we were mistaken in something. Well now, Anatoliy Ivanovich has already read out the opinion of the hundred people who took part in this work. And so, I think that such a collective examination of this problem does not restrict anyone, in my view, including Comrade Panichev, and I think and am convinced that, with the support of the directors of the works who expressed their very great support for Comrade Panichev, this sector will take up the worthy place which it is supposed to have in our country. From the point of view of the government, that it does not devote sufficient attention to machine tool building, well comrades, we have been discussing a very great many matters here for the past 3 weeks, and all of them are topical matters, and we, clearly, have to find our position, where to devote primary attention, and where we can perhaps wait a bit. We have always considered that there are in machine building three or four basic sectors, which in general determine the level of machine building, including the machine tool building industry. Clearly, insufficient attention was devoted, although we always regarded this work as priority. And so, I am ready for work, and I support Comrade Panichev, and I think that he will be able to work and carry out these functions if you will approve this candidacy. [passage omitted]

[Belyayev] Comrades, excuse me, but when we were examining Belousov, Boris Mikhaylovich [minister of machine building] for this post in the commission, he said that he would help the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers in this, and he himself would bring pressure to bear so that there should be consolidated in this sector, in connection with the conversation in the defense industry, ten factories, transferred from the defense industry to this sector. I would like to receive confirmation of this. If we are speaking of intensifying this sector, as a key sector,

then this matter must be addressed now. Well, Boris Mikhaylovich? [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] I think this question is for me. Yes, indeed, when we met with the committee, with the commissions, this problem was raised, and we said that in order to intensify the machine tool building sector, it is essential to transfer several factories, I do not know whether it was ten or less, but several factories from the defense sectors to the machine tool building sector. I can confirm now, too, what I said at that time. Comrades Silayev and Belousov are currently working on precisely these matters, they are preparing a draft government resolution on the redistribution of factories in accordance with the new structure of managing the national economy. [passage omitted]

[Lukyanov] We have had a number of proposals from deputies which I must report to you. The Committee on Agricultural Questions and Food and a number of deputies have put forward a proposal to return to the discussion of the candidacy for the post of minister of water resources construction of the USSR. As you know, it was proposed to appoint Comrade Polad-Zade, Polad Adzhiyevich, to this post. [passage omitted] As you realize, comrades, we can discuss this proposal by committees and deputies on confirming Comrade Polad-Zade as minister only in one case: this is if the chairman of the Council of Ministers puts this candidacy forward to the Supreme Soviet. Only then. So we must ask the opinion of Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov] before embarking or not embarking on a discussion of this candidacy. Nikolay Ivanovich, if you please.

[Ryzhkov] Esteemed comrades, I realize that a very complex situation has now arisen about the candidacy of Comrade Polad-Zade. I will not discuss the background to the question—Anatoliy Ivanovich has just spoken in more detail about the whole situation that arose during the discussion at the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet, and the whole further course of events. Yes indeed, during the presentation of the new government—that was on the first day when the session of the Supreme Soviet began—the name of Polad-Zade did not figure in my report in the post of minister. You remember that there were six people who were candidates for posts as ministers and in state committees, which the government agreed not to examine in view of the negative attitude of certain committees. And for the one candidacy of Comrade Bykov I asked that we should return to it again and discuss it. And there was a discussion of Comrade Bykov and he was appointed minister of the medical industry. Of course I must say why the government acted precisely here in the person of the chairman of the council of ministers, and how I regard Comrade Polad-Zade.

I would like to start with the latter. I have the most positive attitude to this candidacy. The most positive. I know that the opinions of the people's deputies about

Comrade Polad-Zade are not all the same. And I think that even now, obviously, they will not be the same. People will speak in favor, and others against. But I must express my position.

Comrades, in my opinion, Comrade Polad-Zade is today one of the leading specialists in hydrotechnology in our country. He has indeed gone through a long school, beginning as foreman, and ending as first deputy minister. As they say, he has gone through all the stages, and everywhere he has worked quite well [neplokho]. So what has influenced this candidacy? You know that in the past few years—and I would say over the last 10 to 15 years—very great shortcomings have occurred in land improvement in my opinion: incomplete work and violations that have created the public opinion in our country that we carry out land improvement badly and commit errors. I cannot say that they have not been committed. This is indeed the case. In my opinion, it was wrong when about 20 years ago, when the ministry was organized, the ministry was given the functions that led precisely to the situation in which land improvement in our country finds itself. We gave this ministry complete power in this question. We handed over the finances in full, the state financial resources, that is to say, we gave all the money to this ministry. We handed over planning in full, we handed over construction in full, and accordingly, in the majority of cases, commissioning too. That is to say, we locked up everything in this ministry. And the sort of contradictions that would have enabled us to evaluate correctly whether everything is being done in the area of land improvement did not happen. In the final analysis, this lack of control, when everyone was involved in the same group, led to us making very important mistakes in many facilities, which naturally aroused a very stormy reaction in society, and if I am to speak from an economic and social point of view, of course very great mistakes were made in this matter. This is what happened.

Therefore, bearing in mind the fact that Comrade Polad-Zade worked as first deputy minister, it is natural that the reaction should have been what it was, that not only Comrade Vasilyev, who has retired on pension, but also his first deputy, were at the source of all the misfortunes, as they say, that occurred in land improvement. This is what, in the final analysis, influenced us not to present the candidacy of Comrade Polad-Zade for discussion by the Supreme Soviet. Well, you can sense what is happening.

So I think that we shall have to approach this question objectively, comrades. We must see whether this person is capable of bringing benefit to the state or not. If not, then, of course, he must not be appointed, but I am convinced that in the new composition of the ministry—and you know that we in the ministry have not endorsed the Water Conservancy Ministry; there is no such ministry at the moment. There is a Ministry of Water Resources Construction, in other words, a contractual construction organization, which will not have any cash in its hands and which will not have any design institutes

in its hands; in other words, this is a contractual organization that is committed by instructions to fulfil construction work, just as all the contractual organizations in our country operate. Therefore, in these conditions I think that we shall put right those shortcomings that existed. I would like to explain this further, comrades, so you can fully understand.

When the question of the structure of the government and the structure of the ministries was discussed a few months ago, there was a proposal to eliminate this ministry altogether. We consulted with many comrades, and the agroindustrial complex, in particular, opposed it categorically, stating that if we, as they say, now farm out all the construction organizations to the republics, they will dissolve and at the end of the day we shall not have the very strong contractual construction organization which has been set up over a period of 20 years. And they told us that a number of years would pass and still we would return to this same question.

So we left this ministry to the structure of the management of the national economy. We believe that, together with work on agriculture, in other words land improvement—drainage, and so on—we should provide this ministry with additional work. You know the kind of situation that is developing today with ecology, especially in large towns. Only the towns in the Volga river Basin have no purification buildings, and in order to construct these purification buildings, to improve the situation in the Volga River Basin, some R2.5 to 3 billion will be required to build purification buildings. We have examined this question. Our construction workers have hardly had time to do this. It is our opinion that this new ministry should be specifically instructed to do this work and that they should be dealing with this question. And, incidentally, and I must tell you frankly, that when we discussed this problem in the Presidium a few months ago, and specifically instructed this ministry, Polad-Zade was one of those people who supported this proposal and said we must indeed use our capacities to get into the towns and start dealing with ecological questions. Although in his ministry, I am informed, they gave this a hostile reception, saying we were taking on additional work and so on.

The third problem that we believe this new ministry must tackle: The question of the supply of gas to the countryside remains a very acute one. Even at the session, how often people got up and spoke bitterly about the fact that there was no gas in the villages. Yes, indeed, we are greatly lagging behind. We spoke with this ministry, and we believe that we must, together with those ministries that are engaged with these problems, that this ministry should come to grips with the problem of the supply of gas to the countryside in real earnest. And not just from the point of view of digging out canals here or laying pipes there. We are short of material resources. They have strong factories. Let them manufacture pipes, metal, plastic, and so on, so that this ministry can come to grips with this work.

So, in our approach, in examining Polad-Zade's candidacy, we must, evidently, first and foremost, view it from the standpoint as to what the function of this new ministry will be. Its main functions I have told you about. As far as Polad-Zade's personality is concerned, I have given my opinion. Over these past 3 weeks, many people have come up to me, both privately and on radio and television, and asked me about Polad-Zade, and I have always said the same thing, that I believe in this man and I think that this man will bring great benefit. I will not say where and how he worked. Probably the Ukrainians will recall what the situation was like after Chernobyl, when before autumn we were all quivering with fear that there would be floods and they would eventually wash all this radioactive filth into the Dnepr, and so on. A working group was organized at the time, headed by Comrade Polad-Zade who, in my view, thought up a very clever system, and in just a few months such a water system had been created which saved the situation for us, and we managed to prevent this filth washing out into the Dnepr.

And I can give you many other issues: Take Armenia, when they were left without water, when an epidemic was due to break out because there was nothing to drink and nothing could be done. Polad-Zade was there, he sounded the alarm, so to speak, and pulled out all the stops so that water could be provided to these areas as quickly as possible.

Therefore, this is a man who is energetic and competent, and I think that we shall not err if we appoint him. I support Polad-Zade's candidacy.

[Unidentified deputy] He is indispensable, is he?

[Ryzhkov] Nobody is indispensable. No, we are sitting here today, and maybe some time later others will be sitting here. It's not a question of being indispensable; we must give an objective appraisal. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Defends Kamentsev Candidacy

*LD1807001189 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1626 GMT 17 Jul 89*

[Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov from the recorded relay of the 17 July Supreme Soviet session held at the Kremlin]

[Text] [Ryzhkov] I did not ask to come to this podium again to pose the question of Comrade Kamentsev. To return or not to return to this candidacy is another question. Well, the deputies are expressing their opinion, in telegrams, notes, and so forth. And I do not pose that question at this moment. However, I must clarify the matter to a certain extent. Comrade Kamentsev is retiring and obviously it is not a matter of indifference as to what kind of mark he will leave behind. Either he worked honestly throughout his whole life, and as they say, will subsequently live out his life honestly, or he is leaving, well, in the kind of situation we have seen today.

Therefore it is our duty, duty, nevertheless to ensure that there is objectivity in this question. One must not, we must not act like that towards people. If a person is guilty, let us employ any measures, as they say, of social influence, of any kind whatsoever. However, if, if it is slanderous, we must not behave in that way, one could act in that way, comrades, with anyone sitting in this hall. That is why proceeding from this attitude, I stepped onto the rostrum. I would like to dwell upon three questions.

[Lukyanov] Nikolay Ivanovich, if this is your conclusion then let's postpone it....

[Ryzhkov] No, it's not my conclusion. My conclusion is still to come. I think you will give me the opportunity. [bustle in hall] Three questions. I want to quote what took place at that session, if I'm not mistaken, on 4 July, so that it is clear what is being discussed. If need be, let's study the problem, in other words, globally. And, incidentally, when Comrade Katushev was delivering his report here, he said that in actual fact the apparatus of the former Ministry of Foreign Trade was very clogged up and gradually, if I'm not mistaken, gradually from 20 percent to (?1.7 percent) that we know every person there, who he is and so forth. [sentence as heard]

If the whole system is to be discussed in totality, then let us discuss it as a whole. But this was not what was being discussed on 4 July. I quote. Well, as they say, every one of us has this. It is written here. There is yet one last question on which I would like to dwell. It is known that in the make-up of that department, as in the make-up of certain other departments that have an outlet onto the foreign arena, there work a large number of persons who have family ties with officials of our party and state apparatus. It is a pity that I cannot present that question to Comrade Kamentsev. I would ask him what sort of work he has carried out to rid his own department of such persons. I stress, his own department, and so forth. And he goes on to say what Shevardnadze did. Well, he didn't do that.

Second, Ryzhkov. I will not mention my attitude toward Comrade Kamentsev. However, it went on to say, as they say, it is all in the past. What's done is done. As a deputy, in brackets, I alone from the government am a people's deputy, and taking advantage of my rights, I wish to ask the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium, the following. Comrade Sobchak has just hurled accusations at Comrade Kamentsev, former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the effect that he, in his own organization, in brackets—and I wish to remind you that Comrade Kamentsev is immediately in charge of the government commission apparatus, I do not recall how many people, 80 or 100, 99 it turned out to be, isn't that right who have relatives among high-placed officials there and so forth—I ask that a list be presented, through the chair. I think that Comrade Sobchak, Deputy Sobchak should present such a list since he possesses the data, through the chair.

I think comrades, that in principle, each of us bears great responsibility for speeches here on this lofty parliamentary rostrum. It is not heard in the provinces. But it was not heard here. But we heard Comrade Sobchak say: Nikolay Ivanovich, present a list to the commission and we will take a look.

I answered that. That has already been heard. Sorry, Comrade Sobchak. How can it be? You made such a statement to the whole country, directed to a former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and now you are saying submit the list and I'll familiarize myself. Can one do that? You were familiarized. Having made such a statement, be so kind as to present the list. I officially demand it. That's the dialogue which took place. It is recorded, and each one of us has it. Therefore Comrade Lukyanov—and Anatoliy Ivanovich said it just now—was given a list. Here is that list—99 people, all surnames. He read out, as they say, the note, and the list was submitted further. We today have not received an answer to this. It has not been received, but the general argument is that this is obviously an independent question and let's resolve it independently. That's the first part.

I think that Comrade Sobchak has not submitted the documents, has not submitted them, and his statement with regard to Kamentsev is unfounded according to the commission. The second question: During discussion of Comrade Kamentsev's candidacy, and it has been heard today, too, we heard that he messed up the work of the fish industry, and therefore we didn't have any kind of moral right 2 and ½ years ago to put him forward for the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the more so to confirm him in the post now. I will not read out the information, the official letter of Comrade Kotlyar, the present minister of the fish industry. I hope that evidently Anatoliy Ivanovich has distributed it to deputies, or, it needs to be distributed, so that they should have the opportunity to acquaint themselves with what has been done over that time. I do not want to dwell on this matter. There's a page and a half of text here. By all means, you can have a look at it.

And the third question, which was also touched upon during the discussion of Comrade Kamentsev: I asked for information from the USSR general procurator concerning Comrade Kamentsev's participation in the so-called Okean [ocean] affair. The information is this: An action brought by the USSR Procuracy on criminal case no. so-and-so charging V.I. Rytov and other officials in this system of bribery and abuses. By sentence of the USSR Supreme Court of 18 August 1981, for the crime carried out, sentenced were: first, V.I. Rytov, former USSR deputy minister of the fish industry, to the extreme measure of punishment.

I will not further name surnames, comrades. I do not want to name them because they have both relatives and children, and perhaps there are grandchildren too who are honest people and I would not want the surnames which

are in the information here to cast a shadow on those people. If anybody is interested, please come up and I'll show you these surnames, who was sentenced to what. But I will read out the last phrase: In the process of investigation and court examination any kind of data testifying to abuse of office on the part of V.M. Kamentsev, USSR deputy minister of the fish industry, was not established.—assistant to the USSR Procurator General (Morgachev), senior investigator on especially important cases attached to the USSR Procuracy General (Gromov).

That's what I wanted to say. I think that we must have an objective attitude as they say, to one of the members of our society.

Supreme Soviet Completes Discussion of Nominees
LD1707092489 Moscow TASS in English
0919 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet today completed the discussion of nominees for the posts of deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, ministers and heads of state committees. The last on the list were Vladimir Durasov and Nikolay Panichev. Durasov, former minister of non-ferrous metallurgy, will now be first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee with the rank of minister. Panichev was again appointed minister of the machine-tool and tool industry.

Some 60 members of the government have been endorsed during the past three weeks. In accordance with the Constitution, the USSR Council of Ministers will include heads of government of all 15 union republics. Their candidatures were not discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There are 11 vacancies left in the Council of Ministers, specifically, the posts of the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in charge of the food sector, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers to head the Foreign Economic Commission, five ministers (those of culture, of water-management development, of railways, of timber industry and of oil and gas industry), three chairmen of the state committees (on prices, on environmental protection and for physical culture and sports) and head of the USSR State Bank.

These posts became vacant for various reasons. Some of the nominees were not recommended by parliamentary committees and commissions in preliminary hearings, others were rejected by the Supreme Soviet and still others were withdrawn by Prime Minister Ryzhkov. It is not yet known when the head of government will name other candidates.

'Outcry' Over Rejected Candidacies at Supreme Soviet
LD1707113189 Moscow TASS in English
1125 GMT 17 Jul 89

["USSR Supreme Soviet: Outcry Over Rejected Candidacies"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

After the completion of the discussion of candidates for government posts at today's session of the Soviet parliament, Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov read out a number of letters, appeals, and telegrams from some deputies and many voters who disagreed with the Supreme Soviet's rejection of some candidates.

A large group of agrarian deputies insists on reopening discussion of Polad Polad-Zade's candidacy for the post of minister of water-management development. Some prominent figures in culture see the rejection of Vasilii Zakharov for the post of culture minister as unjustified. There are also telegrams protesting the rejection of Nikolay Konarev as minister of railways.

The rejection of Vladimir Kamentsev, who was again recommended to the post of deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission, was a subject of heated debate. Authors of letters and telegrams addressed to the Supreme Soviet believe that this decision was taken under the emotional influence of a speech by Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak, of Leningrad, who without citing any proof accused the candidate of incompetence and said that the foreign trade departments were filled with the relatives of political and state leaders.

Since that speech Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and other deputies have tried to elicit evidence of such claims from the Leningrad deputy. They asked him to speak today but did not receive a convincing reply.

Vasilii Zakharov and Marat Gramov, whose candidacies were rejected, also took part in the debate. They urged the deputies to show greater objectivity and responsibility in future when they again decide the fate of people.

Nikolay Ryzhkov will today deliver a report on the results of the discussion of the government at the Supreme Soviet.

Supreme Soviet Elects Control Committee
LD1707155289 Moscow TASS in English
1536 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet parliament today elected a new People's Control Committee, which oversees a nationwide public inspector service fighting red tape, bungled management and other shortcomings which do not involve criminal responsibility for the culprits.

The confirmation procedures were not easy. Three of the six initial nominees for deputy chairman were rejected way back during the preliminary consideration of candidates in parliamentary commissions and joint committees.

(Gennadiy Kolbin had been elected committee chairman before, during the congress of People's Deputies.)

The list of 18 candidates was reviewed and discussed anew before being put before the Supreme Soviet today.

The parliament supported them all.

Yevgeniy Varnachev, 57, who previously headed a mechanical engineering ministry, was elected first deputy chairman.

Two of the five deputy chairmen are incumbents: Vladislav Bazhenov, 51, and Anatoliy Romantsov, 53.

Two others are Aleksandr Ilyenkov, 52, former first deputy chairman of the People's Control committee of the Russian Federation and Vaerian Kulikov, 52, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Bank's board since 1987.

The last deputy chairman's office remained vacant since the candidate, Aleksandr Vasilkovskiy, chairman of the Oryol region governing council, decided at the last moment against leaving his present job.

Supreme Soviet Decision on Abkhaz Reported
LD1707192289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 17 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a TASS report about a USSR Supreme Soviet decision adopted at this evening's session.

It says:

Expressing serious concern over the situation that has arisen in Abkhaziya, the USSR Supreme Soviet instructs the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, Abkhaz Autonomous SSR [ASSR] Council of Ministers and the USSR minister of internal affairs to take energetic and decisive measures to establish order and ensure socialist lawfulness and reliable safety of the population.

The USSR Supreme Soviet proposes that the USSR people's deputies representing Georgian SSR and Abkhaz ASSR issue an appeal to their electorates to resolve all disputed issues through peaceful means, being guided by the principles of internationalism and friendship of the Soviet peoples.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deems it vital to restore immediately the traffic on the Transcaucasus Railroad to eliminate the abnormal situation which is interfering with supplies to the population, the steady work of the enterprises, and the ability of the working people to travel to holiday locations.

The USSR Supreme Soviet appeals to all citizens in Abkhaz ASSR—Abkhazians, Georgians and representatives of other nationalities—to make every effort to stabilize the situation, establish peace and trust and enable people to live and work in peace.

Deputy Questions Ministry's FRG Link
LD1707152689 Moscow TASS in English
1506 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

As the Supreme Soviet today formed a new People's Control Committee, Deputy Valentin Logunov suggested a probe into what he described as dubious links between the Soviet Merchant Marine Ministry and the Soviet-West German Bominflot company.

He called for investigating terms under which the ministry brings fuel to depots of Bominflot which is based in Hamburg and has subsidiaries in Singapore, Spain, Holland, South America and other regions frequented by Soviet ships.

According to Logunov, Soviet shipping lines sell fuel to the company at nominal prices, while Bominflot supplies fuel to Soviet ships at maximum prices.

The Soviet Union as a result suffers enormous losses in both fuel and hard currency, Logunov claimed. He quoted experts as estimating these losses in 1982-1986 at nearly 140 million dollars.

"One has a hunch that this has not been due to mere thoughtlessness. Some people possibly have vested interests in managing the whole thing precisely this way," Logunov said, as he turned over his material to the People's Control Committee chairman.

Ryzhkov Comments on Formation of New Cabinet
*LD1707170189 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT
17 Jul 89*

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS— Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov told Soviet journalists, covering the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that the formation of the new government marked a fundamentally new development in the history of the Soviet state.

Replying to a question by the TASS parliamentary correspondent, he stressed that three weeks of acute discussions on the make-up of the cabinet enabled the deputies to take a fresh look at and sort out many problems. With every candidate the approach of deputies was becoming more balanced and even statesman-like. This helps to establish new stable relations between the parliament and the country's government. Nikolay Ryzhkov favoured holding regular meetings between the head of government and MPs.

On the other hand, he noted, high exactingness by deputies enabled to create a strong cabinet of ministers, which is younger and more energetic than the past one. It is also experienced. Its salient feature is a wide representation of major scholars. Even though the average age of the new government is lower than in the past years (55), Nikolay Ryzhkov said that figure should be lowered further to 50.

The head of government spoke out in favour of all 11 vacancies in the cabinet to be filled already at the current session of the parliament. But he is not sure. Ryzhkov did not rule out that some candidates would be considered at the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet.

Replying to other questions, Nikolay Ryzhkov described the situation in the country as complex. He was concerned at high social tension, caused to a large extent by the unbalanced market and a gap between the monetary incomes of the population and production of consumer goods. He believes that the programme of expanding the production of these goods, including those by defense ministries, will enable to achieve tangible results as early as next year. The low rates of food production, which are the prime cause of social tensions, are unsatisfactory as well.

Nikolay Ryzhkov emphasized the complexity and danger of inter-ethnic conflicts. "This is an extremely serious issue," he said.

Speaking about strikes in the country, he stressed that the existing problems should be solved on a legal basis rather than by force, which can only further unbalance the country's economy.

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Government Composition
*LD1807114689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0335 GMT 18 Jul 89*

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by unidentified reporters in the Kremlin on 17 July—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Nikolay Ivanovich, you have said that you have seen a lot of very interesting people here. When you were listening to them, did the thought ever occur to you that it would be a good thing to have this or that deputy as a member of your government?

[Ryzhkov] Such thoughts did occur to me. I looked closely at many comrades who spoke here. I will tell you that I liked many of the speeches very much. And not just the speeches; it is not a question of whether someone speaks in a polished way—it can all be written down on paper and so on—but you see at once the intellect of a person, his range of interests, his attitudes, his decency, and so on. It can be seen straight away, especially since several people have spoken on a number of occasions. We must, therefore, bear such people in mind because, you see, although the average age of the government today is considerably younger than what it was in 1984, nevertheless 55 years is 55 years—this is the average age of the government today. I, for example, was born in 1929; Abalkin was born in 1930; Belousov was born in 1928, Silayev in 1930—so you see there is a bulge, a certain stratum of leading posts or people holding key positions in the government who are too close together in terms of age, too much so. I think that this is one of the shortcomings because once they are in such a compact block it means that they will cease to operate in a compact block too—I am not saying physically or biologically and so on, but nevertheless there will come a time when they will obviously have to depart. I consider that it is not expedient for someone to occupy a top state post beyond the age of 65; it is not expedient. Perhaps there are some exceptions, some special exceptions, but I do not think that I am one of them—so that you should know.

In my view, if the average age were 50 years, then that would be the best: Today we have an average age of 55 years and we must therefore find during the years we have left for living and working—I do not know—we must find very many people, young people, who would be able. I mean we have to bring them on today, in a year or 2 years so they are near because time is passing very quickly. Five years will go by so quickly that we will not be able to gather our thoughts and the formation of a new government will begin. It is not realistic to take someone who is working today as the head of a section in a factory, say, and install him as a minister tomorrow. It all seems so easy, does it not?

[Reporter] [?In a revolutionary] situation....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Yes, yes. We therefore have to have some kind of breaking-in process and I think we have to look closely at the deputies too; there are some

very interesting people there and I will tell you that we are now looking at some candidates for certain vacant posts and these include people who are deputies.

[Reporter] Could you not give just one name? Who would you like to be the first from this body of deputies to be brought into your work?

[Ryzhkov] I would not like to name anyone, I have several people in mind. I think we should take some more women. But look, why are we any worse than Norway? Let us look at it that way—and not because Brundtland is the prime minister there; I know how many ministers are women there. Incidentally, for these two departments which we are now setting up—for one department God wills that one should have a woman dealing with women's issues and I believe that we should take a woman for culture, too, a woman. I have now told the comrades here: Cast your nets! In the future we have to look at the nonparty people too. There is not one nonparty member in the government.

[Reporter] Nikolay Ivanovich, the government and the parliament: two-way communications began to operate during the USSR Supreme Soviet session. How is it going to go on operating—between the government and the parliament?

[Ryzhkov] I will say that there was a very great deal that was useful for me, there was a great deal that was interesting; I have to say that I rethought a lot during this time: I think there are things I have to correct in my activity, decisions which were made earlier will have to be corrected. This brings us back to those two departments we have just been talking about. Had it not been for that discussion we would not have had these departments. They would not have existed—the department for culture and people's education and the department for women, the family, and children.

[Reporter] So you also made some discoveries here at the session?

[Ryzhkov] Of course, of course, I...

[Reporter, interrupting] People, obviously, and new ideas.

[Ryzhkov] In the first place, you know, a great deal was said from the rostrum, a great deal was said by the deputies from the rostrum, and so on. But I will say this: I learned just as much information in the conversations, in the conversations in the breaks, before the session, after the session, when I was able to talk to people in a relaxed atmosphere. People understand—there is also the effect of television—and people understand that when they mount the rostrum they understand that they are being shown on television and so on and accordingly I think people behave in a certain way, that is how I see it. I think that our permanent bodies of the Council of Ministers, bodies which we now have, will of course hold

a lengthy dialogue with the committees and the commissions—this is definite—both on bills and on certain separate issues: There will be hearings on various problems and I think that the permanent bodies and the committees and the commissions will either be separate or will join together for some particular topic; ultimately this is for them to decide. I think that that kind of dialogue will take place the whole time. And I already know that there are many... [Ryzhkov changes thought] not demands, but there are many requests that such and such a commission would like to meet, say, the finance minister. And the chairman of the bank told me today that they want to meet and they want him to talk about monetary circulation. Therefore, that kind of dialogue is going to take place.

We will have to think about the kind of dialogue that the head of the government will have with the Supreme Soviet. Speaking in purely preliminary terms, I can express my thinking as follows: I have not talked to anyone about this, neither with the Supreme Soviet nor the Presidium, I have not talked to anyone, but it seems to me we should evidently have meetings between the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet, taking place at regular intervals, at a regular time and with regular frequency. A mechanism of some kind is needed, a mechanism governing relations not just between the permanent bodies of the Council of Ministers, which is more or less beginning to shape up, but with the leadership of the Council of Ministers, in particular the chairman of the Council of Ministers and perhaps the first deputy chairman. But I think we must not remain apart for long, we must not: There must be feedback; there must be.

Supreme Soviet Approves Deputy Prosecutors 7 Jul
PM1107145989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report from the Kremlin by IZVESTIYA special correspondents G. Alimov, A. Stepovoy, and V. Shchepotkin: "So Far 2 Weeks of Debates"]

[Text] As has been reported, the formation of the country's supreme organ of prosecutor's power—the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium—began at the 7 July morning joint sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities. A.I. Lukyanov, chairing the session, gave the floor to USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev. The latter thanked the deputies for putting their trust in him and appointing him to such an important post of crucial importance to the formation of a rule-of-law state and informed the Supreme Soviet of the proposed composition of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium. It has undergone a very considerable overhaul. As has been mentioned before, 6 of the 14 people are new, but are, like the others, well known in their field. The general prosecutor described them all in detail, noting the individual qualities of each contender. Then the discussion began.

What perhaps caused the most debate at the morning sitting was the candidacy of A.D. Vasilyev, member of the Prosecutor's Office collegium, for the post of USSR first deputy general prosecutor. And this is not surprising. In their preliminary discussion of his candidacy the two USSR Supreme Soviet committees had failed to agree to A.D. Vasilyev's being given this important post. But the USSR general prosecutor stuck to his view concerning his first deputy and submitted A.D. Vasilyev's candidacy for the USSR Supreme Soviet's consideration. The supreme organ of state power supported the USSR general prosecutor's proposal.

Another four deputy general prosecutors were appointed at the morning sitting. They also become collegium members by virtue of their position. Their names were given in yesterday's IZVESTIYA. They are I.P. Abramov, V.I. Andreyev, Ya.E. Dzenitis, and V.I. Kravtsev.

But I think the process of confirming the leading collegial organ of the union prosecutor's office would have been more productive if there had not been a debate and fierce polemics again concerning procedural matters. We have already talked about some aspects of this heated debate (that it was an emotional debate is confirmed even by the fact that the majority of deputies supported the proposal that this part of the sitting should not be transmitted in full on television).

The evening sitting began eight minutes late. Why? The number of deputies present did not represent a quorum. There were only 350 Supreme Soviet members in the hall. Remember that the decisions are considered legally valid provided at least 362 deputies vote. The chairman, A.I. Lukyanov, proposed that the discussion start while the latecomers, having registered, were still taking their seats. And that is what happened. When it came to the vote there were 365 legislators in the hall.

The discussion of the appointment of A.S. Pobezhimov took a total of 30 minutes. The situation concerning the confirmation of this candidate collegium member and deputy general prosecutor was complicated from the start. The point is that the two Supreme Soviet committees—on questions of legislation legality, and law and order and questions of glasnost and citizens' rights and appeals—did not present a united front at their sittings. The votes were distributed as follows: 25 for, 12 against, and 15 abstentions. But, all things considered, the candidacy ought to be discussed, as the chairman put it. From what we could see, A.S. Pobezhimov's brief, but meaty speech, generated confidence in the candidate as an undoubtedly competent and principled person. Assessing the confirmation procedure, the candidate observed: It is necessary because it enhances the status of members of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium and provides, as he put it, a powerful instrument to prevent people from influencing prosecutors, so that all those "telephone calls" no longer occur.

Although the basic idea behind perestroika in the USSR Prosecutor's Office organs has been expounded in detail by the General Prosecutor, A.S. Pobezhimov saw fit to supplement it and express his personal view. This was also bound to evoke sympathy. He said that perestroika must begin with the central apparatus and prosecutor's office organs must be relieved of irrelevant functions. It is not the job of the prosecutor's office, A.S. Pobezhimov said, to monitor the fight against weeds or the freight car handling process. A.S. Pobezhimov considers it extremely important eliminate any secrecy in prosecutor's office organs' activities.

By a majority of votes, with 4 against and 28 abstentions, the Supreme Soviet approved A.S. Pobezhimov as collegium member and USSR deputy general prosecutor.

Then the chairman informed the Supreme Soviet of the proposal to confirm A.F. Katusev as collegium member and chief military prosecutor and deputy general prosecutor of the USSR. The results of the hearings at the Supreme Soviet committees gave him a good foundation—35 for, 8 against, 10 abstentions. But, as work experience shows, the Supreme Soviet takes note of the information and acts independently.

A.F. Katusev intends to act in three basic directions. At the top of the list he put the problem of crime in the Armed Forces, where there has been an increase in such areas as theft of weapons, drug addiction, grievous bodily harm, and nonregulation relations. These problems cannot be solved by administrative measures alone, A.F. Katusev believes. What is needed is genuine concern and responsibility on the commander's part. I personally, A.F. Katusev said, am the son of a postwar regiment and I know how important this is.

The candidate for the post of chief military prosecutor sharply criticized the established practice where servicemen are used in a variety of construction work. According to A.F. Katusev's estimates, 16 ministries and departments, including the Internal Affairs Ministry, maintain construction detachments of that kind.

"Are prosecutors really independent of the army authorities today?" A.F. Katusev was asked.

"No. Not yet," was the reply.

By a majority of votes the Supreme Soviet confirmed A.F. Katusev as chief military prosecutor and USSR deputy general prosecutor. Of the 369 deputies present in the hall at that time 19 voted against and 39 abstained.

Then it was proposed that the deputies confirm the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium. The chairman read out the names of the candidates and proposed a vote, if there were no more questions. At that point deputy N.N. Vorontsov took the floor. He favored voting for individuals, rather than for a list of candidates. Otherwise, N.N. Vorontsov said, we could be setting a bad example for

the lower-level soviets. The deputy's view was heeded. The collegium members were confirmed individually. In that way, S.A. Yemelyanov, V.I. Ilyukhin, and I.I. Karpets became members of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium.

It seemed that same was going to happen to the other four candidates at that sitting. But when the discussion of the next candidate member of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium, G.P. Smirnov, was drawing to a close deputy Yu.A. Ryzhov informed the chairman that the Supreme Soviet was no longer legally entitled to make any decisions because, according to his calculations, there were only 350 Supreme Soviet members in the hall at that moment....

The chairman declared that the examination of other candidates for the collegium was terminated and said that it would continue at the chambers' next joint sitting.

There was another debate on procedural matters. But it was an unusually limp affair for some reason. It was felt that by the end of the second week of the session's work many deputies had become weary. Many of them, particularly those from out of town, were obviously in a hurry to catch the evening flight, to spend their parliamentary weekend at home, with their families. In human terms this is understandable. But the question remains: Have some people's deputies failed to notice that because of a failure to observe elementary discipline they have become objects of fair criticism by voters? Incidentally, this was mentioned by certain deputies who took the floor at the very end of the evening sitting and proposed a return to consideration of the "matter of discipline" next week.

Let us rest until Monday....

Kamshalov Heads Cinematography Committee
LD1307143789 Moscow TASS in English
1345 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet which is forming a new government endorsed today Aleksandr Kamshalov, 57, as chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, the government body that coordinates film production and distribution.

Kamshalov who has headed the committee since 1986 told deputies that the Soviet film-making industry included 39 film studios which produce annually 150-160 feature films, 110-120 television films and 2,200 short films. 330,000 people are working in this sphere. There are 150 thousand movie theatres and halls in the country.

The nominee described the present situation in Soviet cinematography as complex and contradictory. On the one hand, there are some obvious changes for the better. Films made many years ago and banned at that time at last reached the screens. The relations between the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and the USSR Union of Film-makers changed from confrontation to cooperation. A cost-accounting system is being introduced in film-making which paves the way to creative and economic independence of film studios and can lead in the future to the self-disbandment of the State Committee for Cinematography.

On the other hand, according to Kamshalov, restructuring (perestroika) in film-making, which consists in combining public and state forms of managing film production, is dragging on. The artistic level of many films continues to be low. In the opinion of Kamshalov, this situation can be overcome by a consistent restructuring policy in the sphere of film-making.

Unlike the nominee who spoke mostly about the technical side of film-making, parliamentarians switched the conversation over to the artistic and cultural sphere. Many questions put to the nominee expressed concern over the fact that many films propagate violence and eroticism. Kamshalov said that he shared this concern, but, in his opinion, this problem can be resolved not through prohibitions, but through persuasion and the cultivation of good taste. He favoured the setting up of a special parliamentary subcommission on morality in literature and art.

The nominee received clear instructions from the deputies: not to sacrifice moral values for box-office takings. A deputy from Central Asia quoted Avicenna, the great medic of ancient times, as saying that the poverty of soul is the worst kind of poverty.

Committee Gives Priority to Labor Dispute Bill
LD1807110289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0955 GMT 18 Jul 89

[TASS parliamentary correspondent's report]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jul (TASS)—The draft law on the settlement of collective disputes (on strikes) will be one of the central documents to be examined by the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. Its session was held today.

The draft law arrived at the committee only yesterday. However, bearing in mind the urgent need for such a normative act under the present situation, the parliamentarians intend to examine it as soon as possible. In their view, this will make it possible to ensure a legal basis for resolving labor disputes, including those such as the present major strike by miners in the Kuzbass.

As was pointed out at today's session, a law on the status of judges in the USSR needs to be adopted as soon as possible, perhaps even at this session. In the view of the committee members this will help to strengthen the independence of the court.

"Our committee should be the coordinating center of lawmaking in the country," Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the committee and a well-known Soviet lawyer, stressed at today's session. "A businesslike and professional approach without emotional extremes should predominate in our work," he believes.

The committee faces a gigantic amount of work in preparing many new draft laws, the absence of which is having a negative effect on the life of society, Sergey Alekseyev noted. The principal work will be conducted in five subcommittees that have already been formed and which will be engaged in matters of constitutional legislation, legislation on the reform of the political system, legal backup for economic reform, social development and culture, improvement of criminal legislation and legislation on judicial reform, and also problems of socialist legality and law and order.

Parliamentary Committees Consider Draft Laws
LD1807091389 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 18 Jul 89

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Today the Soviet parliament's committees and commissions begin the next stage of their work—to consider a 'package' of draft laws concerning the most diverse aspects of Soviet life.

The commission for labour, prices and social policy of the council of the union, one of the Soviet parliament's two chambers is sitting in the Kremlin today.

Together with representatives of other committees and commissions, it is considering a draft law on changes in taxation. This document envisages the cancellation of or reduction in the income tax levied on lower paid sections of the population and an increase in the income tax levied on higher income groups.

Among other draft laws under discussion in committees and commissions are those on the quality of products, the protection of the rights of consumers, on inventive activities, the fundamentals of legislation on the judicial system, and the principles of criminal legislation.

TASS has learnt that the chairmen of the chambers are planning to suggest that the parliament accept almost twenty drafts on new laws for consideration at this session.

Pre-parliamentary work on draft laws on the press, on the rights of trade unions, youth, and the freedom of conscience and religious organisations is nearing completion.

Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on Monday requested the Supreme Soviet members to expedite the consideration of the draft law on collective labour conflicts (which is referred to in the lobby as a 'law on strikes').

The committee for legislation, legality and law and order has begun to consider a series of decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, which are being brought up at this session for endorsement.

Observers predict a lively debate over the decree adopted in April this year which introduces amendments and addenda to the law on criminal responsibility for crimes against the state.

Despite the overall democratic orientation of the decree (it repealed articles under which so-called dissidents were tried previously), the public regarded Article 7, which advocates punishment for calls for the overthrow or a change in the Soviet state and social system, in different ways.

An item concerning the decrees is expected to be brought up for the chambers' consideration this week.

The parliament allotted Wednesday and Thursday for the discussion of matters concerning the carrying out of the assignments of the Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies.

Kryuchkov Interviewed on KGB Chairman Post
LD1807101889 Moscow in English to North America 2010 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Soon after his re-appointment, the chairman of the State Security Committee [KGB], Vladimir Kryuchkov, has spoken in an interview with our reporter Vyacheslav Terehkov.

What do you feel now that parliamentary discussion of your appointment to the top government job is over?

[Begin Kryuchkov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] I've been through one of the most exciting moments in my life, both emotionally and politically. None of the criticism levelled at the agency will remain unattended. We shall draw the necessary conclusions and take measures accordingly. All the questions put to me as the chairman of the KGB will be studied thoroughly and will not remain unresponded [to]. [end recording]

Vladimir Kryuchkov next said he hoped to establish good cooperation with the Supreme Soviet. We believe, he added, that Soviet parliament must control all of what is under its control, including the State Security Committee.

What is KGB's role at the current stage of the Soviet society's development?

[Begin Kryuchkov recording] I should think the review of KGB's role in society is already in full swing. We've started with greater democracy and glasnost. And I think it is most important because, judging by the nature of questions in the house, little is known even now how KGB operates, let alone what must be known to have an unbiased view of the agency. He said in his view both the Soviet and world public must be informed about its work. We must show (?the world), he went on, that although not ideal KGB's goals are lofty and humane. Although it has a tragic past behind, it is also one of the party and country. [sentence as heard]

We would like, he said, to be involved in that huge work on further restructuring and the renewal of the society. On the problem of secrecy, he said it must be reviewed but could not be abandoned altogether because it helps maintain the high standards by some of the parliament members, he said it is practiced occasionally where the need arises to expose the crimes of some individuals or where national security is at stake. On the agency's authority in internal policy, Vladimir Kryuchkov said KGB's activity is restricted by law. Although the existing legislation is not perfect the new legislation to come under parliamentary discussion next year lay down the rights and duties of the KGB. [end recording]

Vladimir Kryuchkov said in conclusion that his own attitude to the so-called dissident trials was negative and that the injustice must be redressed. Apart from legal rehabilitation, he said, there is a moral side which could not be dismissed.

The chairman of the KGB, Vladimir Kryuchkov, spoke of the need for cooperation with relevant services of other countries in combatting terrorism, drug-trafficking and organized crime.

Communications Ministry, KGB Deny Tapping Phones
PM1707142489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[S. Oganyan report: "Not Suitable for Discussing on the Telephone?"]

[Text] This is not suitable for discussing on the telephone, we usually say when we intend to impart something very important to someone. Why do we say this? Are we afraid of being overheard by someone whose far from innocent curiosity could affect our future and that of those dear to us? Evidently we are. But how justified are our fears? Before we try to answer this question, let us cite a letter from our reader party veteran V.D. Sabanov:

"Yesterday I was talking with an old friend on the telephone. We had been talking frankly for a few minutes, exchanging opinions about the events in China: the student disturbances and the army's actions. I was speaking with regret about what had happened, and I said that it could undermine the prestige of the Chinese leadership....

"All at once a strange, warning voice cut in: Such subjects are not suitable for discussing on the telephone. We were flabbergasted—does this mean they tap telephone conversations between Soviet people even on ordinary topics that are no secret? This is contrary not only to the spirit and letter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also to the policy of glasnost and the Soviet Constitution."

To judge by the letter, our reader would view it with understanding if "secret conversations" were tapped. He objects to the tapping of ordinary, domestic conversations about everyday matters. But does this really happen?

"Tapping telephone conversations is banned by the USSR Constitution and the USSR Communications Statutes," we were told at the USSR Ministry of Communications Main Administration of Electric Communications. "The confidentiality of telephone conversations is guaranteed by the state...."

"Tell me," I asked, "what is our reader writing about, in that case?"

"Nothing extraordinary happened. Someone 'broke in' to their conversation as a result of a faulty connection and became an involuntary listener, and when he was tired of it, he decided to stop it with a kind of joke... In Moscow there are 2 million telephones in personal use, and no shortage of misunderstandings. People complain to us at the ministry. We virtually do not react to such complaints any more. But some very persistent people complain that they are being bugged. How can that be right? What I mean is, is it right to complain? The Constitution bans tapping, so telephones are not tapped. Tell them that."

We are telling you. But for some reason, a sense of things left unsaid remained after the conversation with the Ministry of Communications. Perhaps the USSR Prosecutor's Office would finally dispel our doubts? I called them, and simply asked: Are telephone conversations tapped in our country?

"In general, it is categorically banned," the USSR Prosecutor's Office General Oversight Administration replied. "And then, even if they were tapping a conversation, they would not give themselves away by making stupid remarks. Moreover, evidence obtained in this way is inadmissible, it has no legal significance. The only thing we can do is to seize correspondence if necessary. But tapping... Clearly only the state security organs could have an interest in that..."

The department which every reader must have thought of on scanning the headline of this item was named. We should have begun there.

"You are bothering us for nothing," the USSR KGB told us. "We do not tap telephones."

So everything is in order. They do not tap our telephones. It is only a pity that in the era of glasnost the officials who tried to convince us of this persistently asked to remain anonymous. I wondered: Should I perhaps not sign this article, either? But then again, what is the point of making a secret of it? We have glasnost, don't we?

P.S. Yesterday we received a letter on this subject from the USSR Ministry of Communications. It adds nothing to the above. It is signed by the man who, during our telephone conversation, asked me not to give his name—L.S. Maklakov, deputy chief of the Main Administration of Electric Communications.

So why did he ask me not to name him then? Perhaps because these things are not suitable for discussing on the telephone?

Ruble Said To Be Devalued by 50 Percent
OW1707150789 Tokyo KYODO in English
1457 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 17 KYODO—The Soviet Government plans a 50 percent devaluation of the ruble against Western currencies with effect from January next year, a Soviet scholar said on Monday in an exclusive interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE.

The planned devaluation, disclosed by Valery I. Rybin, chief researcher of the Economic Research Institute under the Soviet Academy of Sciences, was later confirmed by Vladimir S. Gurevich, an editorial writer for the weekly MOSCOW NEWS.

This marked the first time that the rate and timing of the ruble devaluation, rumored for some time, had been publicly specified.

Rybin also revealed a plan to set up a sort of foreign exchange market.

An auction of foreign currencies centering on the U.S. dollar will be conducted in the Soviet Union for the first time within a year with Soviet enterprises participating, he said.

How this system will be perpetuated will be determined after studying the result of the planned auction, Rybin said. He indicated, however, that the government is considering holding the auction about once every three months.

Rybin is known as a brain truster for President Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika.

The ruble presently fluctuates around the official rate fixed by Gosbank (state bank).

It is now rated at about 0.64 ruble to the U.S. dollar, but the dollar is five to 10 times stronger than that in terms of effective rate.

The planned 50 percent devaluation is primarily intended to strengthen the Soviet Union's export competitiveness and bring the ruble closer to the effective exchange rate.

Another apparent purpose is to alleviate a state of confusion caused by the existence of approximately 2,000 exchange rates for the ruble set for different export commodities.

The devaluation will serve to encourage exports, but at the same time will inevitably make imports from the West more expensive.

In Tokyo, meanwhile, a senior official of the Bank of Japan, commenting on the planned devaluation of the ruble, said on Monday that the immediate aim seems to be to reduce the Soviet Union's external deficit by curbing imports and spurring exports.

The official, who declined to be identified, said it remains to be seen whether convertibility can be restored to the ruble, although he admitted such a possibility if the devaluation leads to a balance in the country's external trade.

He could not say whether the planned devaluation would achieve its desired results, since domestic prices in the Soviet Union are all official prices set under a socialist economic system, the official said.

He noted that under perestroika, the Soviet Union is liberalizing domestic consumption and promoting disarmament to divert more resources to private consumption.

However, he said, the planned devaluation may be an indication that such a policy alone has proved insufficient to give full stimulus to economic growth.

Coup Attempt, Gorbachev 'Purge Campaign' Alleged
NC1707173889 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic
1640 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Citing diplomatic circles in Moscow, the ARAB WORLD NEWS AGENCY reports that Soviet leader Gorbachev disclosed a plot to overthrow his regime 3 months ago. The agency said that those who were behind the plot were intransigent elements within the Soviet leadership and party opposed to his policy of perestroika.

The ARAB WORLD NEWS AGENCY reports that Gorbachev launched a large purge campaign in state and party organs after the attempt was uncovered. It says that hundreds of officials in these institutions, including party and military figures, were detained on charges of planning for the coup. The detainees admitted that they had planned to assassinate Gorbachev as part of their

premeditated operation. The ARAB WORLD NEWS AGENCY recalls Gorbachev's statement a month and a half ago when he stated that coups are conceivable in his country. The agency asserts that this statement was made a short time after the abortive plot.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Meeting Reviewed

LD0507193489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1330 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] This is a report from Yerevan. Hello, esteemed radio listeners. The most important event in recent days has been the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. At the center of attention were three main issues: The Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the progress of the construction and restoration work in the earthquake zone, and the Armenian ecological situation. For the first time, representatives of informal associations were invited to a Supreme Soviet session. To be specific, these were members of the Karabakh Committee who had recently been released from custody. Incidentally, the committee was part of the Armenian All-National Movement, which has been recognized as a public organization by a resolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

The resolution concerning Nagorno-Karabakh envisions the submission of a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the formation of a commission of deputies to examine and subsequently resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKA0] problem, the raising before the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet of the question of revising the status of the Committee of Special Administration of the NKA0, and of widening the committee's powers to give it real rights in its task of subordinating the autonomous oblast to the supreme bodies of state power and administration.

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet also resolved, bearing in mind the grave concern of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's workers about the complex situation which has been created in the NKA0, to submit a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet and CPSU Central Committee to restore the oblast soviet of people's deputies and the oblast party committee, and to propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet that a proposal be submitted at the Congress of People's Deputies on the USSR Constitution, which would make it possible to resolve disputed interethnic issues by constitutional means in accordance with the Leninist principle of nations' self-determination.

The session noted that the situation with regard to construction and restoration work in the earthquake zone continues to be extremely complex and tense. A new problem—that of the quality of new buildings—has been added to the problems of shortage of workforce and construction materials and of the lack of organizational coordination.

In this context I would like to cite the opinion of Zakharov, State Construction Inspectorate chief specialist of the USSR State Committee for Construction, who believes that in conditions where many construction organizations have begun carrying out work virtually without blueprints, and where the building of installations is led by specialists who have no experience or knowledge of seismic-proof construction, there can be no guarantee of the new buildings' reliability.

The republican Supreme Soviet resolution devotes a separate point to the question of tightening up control over construction quality in the earthquake zone.

Speaking about the ecological situation in the republic, the deputies paid attention above all to the need to close those enterprises which are most dangerous in this respect and which have more than once already been the cause of mass poisoning, but which continued to operate under pressure from central departments. The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet resolves that by the end of this year two enterprises will close: the 'Neirit', a large scientific-production association making (?fluoroprene) rubber in Yerevan, and the mining-metallurgical combine in the town of Alaverdi. The Soviet of Ministers has been instructed to develop in the near future a program for the comprehensive improvement of the ecological situation in the republic.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet adopted a message which, in the name of the Armenian people, expressed deep gratitude to all who have rendered and who are rendering help to the republic in connection with the disasters.

Military

Reportage on Redirection of Plutonium Complex

Complex To Switch Manufacturing

LD1707111989 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT
17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—A defence-industry facility in the southern Ural mountains, which used to produce plutonium, will soon switch to manufacturing lightguides capable of carrying huge amounts of information, while the metal reactor structures will be buried forever, PRAVDA reports today.

The Soviet Union has already shut down two military reactors and is going to stop a third at the facility near the town of Kasli next month.

PRAVDA describes the doomed reactor as a structure going more than 50 meters underground, with a building as large as a ten-storey house above.

Two more Kasli reactors will be phased out next year, the newspaper reveals.

The Kasli facility is the site of the first Soviet industrial nuclear power unit, commissioned in 1948. A 1957 accident there resulted in a conventional blast destroying a tank with dry radioactive waste which was scattered in the atmosphere.

Although nobody was killed as the explosion occurred at a special closed site, 10,200 people were evacuated from the contaminated territory. The incidence of diseases has not shown any deviation from the norm to this day, PRAVDA says.

Eighty percent of the affected lands were brought back into use in 1978, while the remaining 20 percent, totaling 16,600 hectares, were made into a nature preserve and a study ground for the world's only experimental radioecology research station.

The station worked out guidance for dealing with the effects of accidents involving radiation but departmental disunity prevented the use of the experience during the Chernobyl clean-up, PRAVDA notes.

Until 1951, nuclear waste was dumped into the river Techa. Eight thousand people had to be resettled from its banks as a result. The river was cleaned and industrial water reservoirs were built, but it will be impossible to regulate water levels there after the closure of the five reactors.

In order to maintain the ecological balance in the region and provide work for the four thousand specialists after the discontinuation of plutonium production, it was planned to build a nuclear power station in the southern Urals.

But the project, which has already cost 250 million rubles, was suspended a year ago following public protests, PRAVDA says.

Report on Plant Conversion

PM1707160389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4

[Special correspondent V. Chertkov report under the rubric "Top Secret!": "No Entry for Plutonium. USSR Shuts Down Reactors Working for Military Potential"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk Oblast—This is a vital part of the country. It is both the chest and the backbone protecting us from disaster.

Underfoot is an industrial reactor. Underfoot is an installation which goes more than 50 meters underground. And here, when you stand on the flat surface from corner to corner of this serenely quiet 10-story room, the only telltale signs of a reactor are the little metal plates that cover the "nuclear honeycomb." A kind of uneven flat cap covers it all.

An open staircase climbs sharply up the wall. A heavy door—I go through it—leads to an area protected from deadly rays (were they to escape) where the control panel is housed. The rows of flashing lights, the printers spewing forth paper, and the instruments tell the story of the reactor's life, the nuances of its behavior, and the processes that lead to the formation of plutonium—the end product for nuclear weapons.

The equipment records the position of doors in the building and all kinds of information connected with people's safety. There are some kinds of mysterious symbols on the panel. It sometimes seems that even the time of day is classified "Top Secret." The first letters of names "hide" the various reactor zones—they are called nothing other than Olga, Tatyana, Roman, Leonid, Yelena...

"We have very highly skilled specialists working here," V. Sadovnikov, plant director (Reactor No 2), said. "And nonetheless our knowledge is regularly checked in 26 disciplines. If we 'fail' even one of them the exam is over. If the overall score is 'satisfactory' people will also be fired."

Just as the son of a grain farmer will be a peasant through and through, here, too, you can see a really fundamental approach in each person. There is the concept of the reactor school. Devotion to a job chosen once and for all—yes; but when you start living this job from childhood, a specialist like you fears nothing. Sadovnikov "inherited" his speciality; the father of Senior Engineer V. Kryuchkov, whom I met at the control panel—in the room which, by tradition, is numbered 15 at all reactors—also worked at the reactor. In the event of anything happening this figure immediately puts people on their guard and rivets their attention.

Twenty-meter empty metallic webbing [plet] covers the walls of the reactor. More than 1,000 of these webs filled with uranium-235 are needed to form the nuclear honeycomb. This is what is under the plates clanking underfoot. Irradiated in the reactor, this webbing is lowered [provalivayutsya] into a bunker located far underground. I glanced into it in the now shut-down reactor and was unable to prevent the unpleasant thought: "If you fell in here you'd be glowing all over." I even quickly glanced over my snow-white suit to check that there were no traces on it of the deadly residue of this unusual production process. What I saw reassured me, and I continued more confidently amid the uneven iron beneath my feet. I was told:

"The reactor's metal components will be entombed for ever. Within these walls we will be making fiber-optic cables to carry a gigantic quantity of data, the cables of the 21st century."

I stood right next to a group of specialists and watched their faces with their almost painful expression. It was as if they were witnessing the last foaling of a purebred mare which had won society's applause. And yet they,

these people, well remember the very first, the ones that held so much promise for their future. And now the future is receding into the past. Everyone and everything will be torn out like a weed, so as to leave no trace of any root system... We have started cultivating the field of new human relations, and the excessive concentration of plutonium poison is of absolutely no use to it, it is harmful. This reactor, already the third, will be shut down next month. Two further reactors will come to a standstill next year.

They were needed.... A living link in modern science, state of the art technology at the time: "Society will manage without you!" The pain is more than just physical, it tears mind and soul apart. Can there be anything more terrifying than awareness of one's uselessness. No scream can express it. Sleepless nights, endless gazing into the night's darkness, as if a solution to the problem is to be found there. Not everyone can put himself in the shoes of someone who is suffering to this extent—seeing the work to which all his life has been dedicated slipping out of his hands. If anyone was concerned about our defense capability in reality rather than just in words, it was they. And who will understand them today?

They were needed. They lit and picked up the torches, and marched off into the darkness where nobody had walked before. They groped along. They stumbled and fell. They bled, and some of them never got up again. The local cemetery expanded fast. So that we could live in tranquillity. People died there, and we grew increasingly confident in our own strength: "Invent whatever bomb you like, we'll match you blow by blow." So what, mankind has always made sacrifices for the sake of extending the boundaries of knowledge. The memorial stones show real surnames constituting the term "mankind." And the people who bring flowers there are also my compatriots and contemporaries who stepped nearer to the sun through the labyrinth of the unknown.

My mind returned to a zone which was kept top secret for a long time. "The USSR's first industrial power supply installation was started up in this building 19 June 1948." And now it no longer exists. Plant Director A. Spirin, who has been here since 1953, and I entered Room 15. As if entering a mortuary. We switched on the light. We approached the lifeless control console.

They were the first. It was at that small table that I.V. Kurchatov wrote in a bold hand: "I warn that the apparatus should not be left without water under any circumstances." They walked as if through a minefield, not knowing where an explosion might occur. And it was here in Chelyabinsk Oblast, near Kasli, that it happened in 1957. This was kept secret until today. The explosion was conventional, not nuclear. A container of dehydrated radioactive waste exploded (at that time they still did not know what could happen and how), there was emission into the atmosphere. Nobody died, nobody was irradiated, because everything happened in a special area closed to visitors.

A cloud of dangerous substances whose radioactivity was determined at 2 million Curies (against 50 million at Chernobyl) spread over an area 105 km long and 8-9 km wide. Some 10,200 people were promptly evacuated from the contaminated territory. So far, no noticeable deviations from the norm as regards the number of illnesses or the number of malignant tumors have been recorded. Long-term effects? Observation will show. But why was it necessary to conceal all this—after all, the lack of information results in all possible rumors and conjectures. Why not say promptly that the damage resulting from land confiscation amounted to R7 million and the elimination of the accident's consequences cost about R200 million in current prices.

A tragedy—no matter what it was and no matter what it cost—is still a tragedy. It cannot be measured in rubles. We were frenziedly rushing ahead toward the summits of communism and tried not to notice those who fell by the wayside. We pretended that the race was proceeding successfully. Uncertainty generates fear and makes it difficult to think. It is, of course, easier to deal with automations. And life is so much simpler when everything is classified and kept hidden from the people's eyes. But sooner or later.... Oh, how difficult it is today to prove the expediency of building nuclear power stations! People brought up on lies have simply ceased believing even the most probable of things.

Having kept silent about the explosion in 1957, how does anyone announce that economic activity was resumed on 80 percent of the contaminated land in 1978. The harvests—I've seen this for myself—are enviable and give people who live in the zone everything that a well supplied table requires. And a nature reserve has been set up in the remaining 20 percent of the territory. Oh no, this word does not have to be within inverted commas, it is a real and genuine nature reserve where man observes nature's life in all its manifestations. Our car seemed to be the only disturbing element in this primordial kingdom. A grouse took off from under its wheels. Fish splash loudly in the lakes. An elk took a bath right before our eyes. Grasshoppers chirr in the waist-high grass. Tranquillity.

We had to go through a militia checkpoint to enter the nature reserve territory, which spreads over 16,600 hectares. State Prize Winner G. Romanov, leader of the nature reserve and experimental scientific research station, remarked:

"You are the first journalist to visit here."

The nature reserve born of disaster is the only one of its kind in the world. Soviet radioecology has emerged as a science here. The subject of the studies is the various reaction between radioactive substances and the environment and the way in which all manner of living ecosystems behave in the zone. Special agricultural and tree-planting methods are being developed here. Atoms that landed here are assisting in the study of the water

cycle, not on a global scale but in some small areas. Experiments with strontium, cesium, tritium, and plutonium have been conducted on site. We have discovered how birch, pine, and the world of organisms under the sod react to these substances. Experiments are being conducted on animals.

A tremendous work entitled "Guide to Eliminating the Consequences of Radioactive Accidents" has just been completed by the employees at the reserve, who include biologists, forestry specialists, animal technicians, chemical analysts, zoologists, programmers, veterinary surgeons, meteorologists, botanists, physicists, soil scientists, and spectrum analysts. The saying "every cloud has a silver lining" is correct. Admittedly, God save us from having to endure such a cloud, but what will be will be and you cannot escape it. However, I am ashamed to say that immediately after the Chernobyl tragedy not everyone made use of the accumulated data owing to departmental disunity.

If the broad public knew about the reserve and its work and if everything that happened there was made public, we would have avoided many of the troubles of Chernobyl. Foreign specialists will even pay to procure data about phenomena occurring at the reserve and information about the experiments performed there.

I was also familiarized with other items that used to be banned. Until 1951 waste products from the production unit were discharged into the Techa River, until it was ruined and filth was discovered as far away as the Arctic Ocean. Some 8,000 people moved away from its shores. They began to decontaminate the river, diverted it through bypass channels, and created industrial reservoirs; it will be impossible to regulate the level of these reservoirs after the five reactors are shut down. The inevitable discharge of radioactive water also represents a tremendous, unpredictable flash flood. Shoaling is also dangerous—the wind may then carry off silt deposits.

What is to be done? Should the industrial reservoirs be enclosed by dams? That is excessively costly. A way out that solves all the problems (at least everything now points to that) has been found: This is to site a nuclear electric power station [AES] in the contaminated zone. First, it will regulate the level of the industrial reservoirs. Second, it is guaranteed a continuous work cycle (there are large stocks of the requisite elements here along with a waste product storage plant). Third, the cadre obstacle has been solved. Some 4,000 specialists who were unemployed following the shutdown of the apparatus producing plutonium will transfer to the AES.

Construction of the station has begun. But many people have been gripped by radiation phobia following Chernobyl—construction of the Yuzhno-Uralsk AES was halted approximately 1 year ago by public demand. Its

impressive buildings are in front of me. Some R250 million have been wasted but there is no one there now and the willow herb and thistles are gaining an increasing hold there.

Whipping up unfounded fears and disregarding precise knowledge may inflict irreparable damage not only on the effective solution of energy or environmental problems but also on the correct choice and implementation of a socioeconomic development strategy for our society. Of course, it would be a great mistake to minimize the potential danger of nuclear power. However, the supreme technical and scientific level of the safety measures provide us with every reason for acknowledging its authority.

"What kind of reactor was planned at the Yuzhno-Uralsk AES?" I asked Yu. Tarasov, the station director, who is a native of these parts.

"A BN-800, which is exceptionally reliable in every respect. There is no chance of an explosion if the reactor itself dies and stops. The activity of the reactor will have no environmental impact. The AES, not forgetting the water reservoirs, will maintain environmental stability."

It is not for me to judge whether or not to continue construction of the AES, although I myself am convinced of the advantages of nuclear power, which is ecologically the cleanest source of power. Burning gas, coal, and petroleum produces vast quantities of carbon dioxide. The carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere has increased by 20-25 percent in the last few years, which was one of the essential reasons for the average 0.6-degree increase in the temperature of the earth's surface.

...The conversion of military production provokes many problems. But I do not want to forget the people who strengthened the country's defensive might here in the Urals in the mid-1940's and early-1950's by creating new weapons. I have met many of them. Some did not come here by choice. That was the demand of the time. How could they fail to comply if their ration books and passports were confiscated?

Air Unit's Open Day Dispels Misconceptions
PM1707124989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 14 Jul 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent B. Sebyakin report: "Dialogue Instead of Recriminations"]

[Text] Baltic Military District—What percentage of soldiers in a unit have higher education? Do they include lads from the Baltic republics? How is the reduction in the Armed Forces affecting pilots? How much are officers paid? Officers from the twice-decorated Orshanskiy Aviation Fighter-Bomber Regiment named for F.E. Dzerzhinskiy answered these and other questions put by visitors during an open day.

The guests learned with surprise that the average per capita income for an officer's family is extremely low, there are many people without apartments in the unit, there is no kindergarten in the military settlement, and the officers' mess is housed in premises that were not designed for the purpose. However, the representatives of the rayon authorities and public organizations who came to meet the pilots were more worried about environmental problems. For some mass media and speeches by members of the Latvian People's Front and other informal organizations have voiced fears that fuel discharges into the atmosphere during missions may pollute the environment. Guests saw for themselves that pilots operate their equipment without detriment to nature or the population. Thus there were no oil spills among the truck pool and there were no signs of pollution by petroleum products on the runway even after revving up the engines at virtually full thrust.

The pilots' meeting with local residents helped dispel certain rumors and remove suspicion in mutual relations. The guests succeeded in forming an objective view of service in the Air Force. It has been decided to hold open days in the unit in the future. Future draftees and their parents will be invited to them.

Head of Afghan Veterans' Body Interviewed
PM1407141589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 25 Jun 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Interview with O. Apertov, chairman of the All-Union Association of Councils of Internationalist Servicemen and Reservists Councils and Patriotic Defense Associations, by Captain 3d Class A. Orlov: "We Have Not Quit the Front Line" on Soviet Youth Day; place not given]

[Text] The future of the revolutionary changes which the country is experiencing at the moment and the success of restructuring are largely determined also by the way young people grow up.

And what are our young people like? Some would say they are an idle lot, spurning lofty ideals. Others believe in them, thinking that they will do their bit in time. Yet others believe that they can be counted on right now, and there are many examples of this. Everyone has his own view of young people. Only young people themselves can clear up this argument. And that is what they are doing. Not least those who have already been through the mill when not yet 20 and had their moral strength, emotional endurance, and civic maturity tested. Those who are at the focus of public attention today. We are talking about the "Afghans," whom some see as the "lost generation" and others regard as the "generation of hope," believing that they are among those who introduce into our lives the true concepts of honor, conscience, duty, and patriotism.

On the eve of Soviet Youth Day our correspondent met with Oleg Zapertov. He is a reserve officer. He is now chairman of the All-Union Association of Councils of Internationalist Servicemen and Reservists and Patriotic Defense Associations.

Our conversation was interrupted at the very start. Zapertov called Sergey Chervonopiskiy, who had recently arrived in Moscow. There is probably no particular need to introduce Chervonopiskiy now. The whole country remembers him from the Congress of People's Deputies. Many were stirred and moved by his speech. Practically the entire hall rose in support of him.

"But how we, his friends, suffered!" Zapertov said when we started talking about it.

[Orlov] But some publications have already hastened to offer their appraisals of all this. Calling the speech by Chervonopiskiy, a "Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] functionary from Cherkassy," a "gross and senseless insult."

[Zapertov] And everything that happened in the hall was called "squandering of the capital of new thinking".... "Vzglyad" [a television program] then got involved. And Yevgeniy Yevtushenko. He had already published his poem "Oh, Afghan, Little Dupe...." Do you know what is most insulting? It is the fact that those who talk about our problems, about the so-called "Afghan syndrome," are people who have not only never been there, but are clearly not familiar with the attitudes and feelings of the majority of "Afghans." People who have not really perceived our pain. But who invariably claim to be telling the ultimate truth. As outsiders. As for Afghanistan, I will say that there are questions we cannot answer, but there are questions only we can answer. But don't call us "thugs" or "lost sheep." That is uncalled for.

Anyway, there are people with whom it is simply pointless to discuss this problem. They will always stick to their own views, in order to be in the public eye and make immediate political capital. So it is better to talk about something else.

[Orlov] OK. There are polemics at the moment about youth policy. The epithet "strong" is often applied to it. What does this mean?

[Zapertov] I don't think the phrase is entirely accurate. In my view it would be better to say correct, intelligent. But for the most part it is a discussion at the moment. But there was virtually no discussion at the Congress of People's Deputies. Is it normal that during the election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee not one question should be put to Valeriy Tsybukh?

Yet young people constitute nearly 45 percent of our country's able-bodied population. How can we be ignored? As long as young people are at the bottom of the

list at the most important forums and in the most important speeches, they will feature at the top of the list at briefings on the growth of crime.

Yet young people possess enormous creative powers. So the paramount task of youth policy, in my view, should be to release these creative powers of young people. The process has started, but a lot of sediment has risen to the surface with it. I was impressed by Valentin Rasputin's Congress speech. His thoughts about moral pluralism. Which is more dangerous than any bomb. About our young people being senselessly maimed in an undeclared war against morality. And one cannot turn a blind eye to this. There is another outstanding fact. Work with young people is losing its patriotic content. I recently got back from the United States where I spent some days with Vladimir Turchin, member of the Soviet public committee for the release of prisoners. The main question was indeed that of getting our guys released, and one was struck by the way the feeling of unity and patriotism is fostered in the United States and young people are proud of their flag and their anthem and respect their Army. What about here? Some people would renounce the word "patriot." But only they, the patriots, can ensure the success of restructuring and lead the country out of the crisis.

[Orlov] But the concept is present in the name of your All-Union Association....

[Zapertov] Indeed. Our association is taking on an important and crucial task. Working with adolescents. Over 30,000 youth clubs all over the country, thousands of boys and girls. I myself am in charge of a club in Obninsk. I have always loved this "lively racket." Although it is very difficult to find a common language with kids today. But if you are absolutely sincere with them, absolutely upfront, the kids will trust you. My comrades, club leaders, cannot imagine not doing this work. It is tough work, often they are working for peanuts, there are clashes, but they do not abandon their charges. To whom do you abandon them? To those for whom there is nothing sacred any more? They would find a way of using this "young material." Remember Kazan, Fergana, Novyy Uzen... But we want to give them faith. Give them moral direction. There are failures, of course. But one must not give in. You would get a mediocre sort of person who couldn't care less about the country, whether it was socialist or capitalist, as long as there was sausage on sale.

[Orlov] But is one not making young guys and girls dependent, say, ideologically and spiritually? They have to find out many things for themselves and grow....

[Zapertov] I agree there must be no distortion here. Beliefs you have forged for yourself last forever. We want to instill in them independence and a desire to work. But this desire on the part of young people is often ignored. I know from my work in the club how hard it is to get guys fixed up somewhere before they reach the age of the majority. They would only be taken on as janitors or to

wash dishes. Even when I tried to fix them up as loading hands—after all, it involves pay and physical exercise, which is of some importance for a young guy—they would be turned away at the door. The only thing left to do is to go to discotheques and hang around. And get money from parents. A lot of changes are needed here. And they must be incorporated in youth policy. I think the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee also has food for thought.

[Orlov] Incidentally, are there any internationalist servicemen on the committee? What did they bring with them? And, in this connection, what kind of Law on Young People would you like to see?

[Zapertov] There are two. Ivan Pavlevich, leader of the "Desantnik" military sports, patriotic club in Kamenets-Podolsk, and Vladimir Finogenov, worker from the city of Alaty in the Chuvash Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. He, incidentally, has written in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The remaining deputies who are internationalist servicemen—there are around 120 of them—participate in other commissions. We see them as our representatives in the supreme organ of power. They did not come empty-handed. They have an action program. One of the main points, for instance, in the case of the Youth Affairs Commission, is that of ensuring that young people have the opportunity to find their niche in life. It is necessary to give every young person a greater sense of responsibility. But there is a marked inclination today to play up to young people. Apparently, young people are paying for the sins of their fathers, who lived a lie, an unprincipled and stagnant life. Why the contrast? Indeed we should be grateful to the older generation for giving us life. Now it is up to us whether we make a go of it or not. But by blaming everything on our fathers we are raising young people who are irresponsible and cut off from their roots... And the Law on Young People? You know, one veteran recently made an ironical remark to me: "So is there going to be a law on old people?" A pertinent observation, in my opinion....

[Orlov] But we are talking about young people's rights....

[Zapertov] Quite so. But what kind of rights are they that are given on "preferential" conditions? There is a whole code of laws for USSR citizens. And are young people not USSR citizens?

[Orlov] The reservists' movement began as an informal one, not officially recognized. There are many other informal movements today. Some of them would like to see themselves as an alternative to the Komsomol. What do you think of this? What movements are you prepared to cooperate with?

[Zapertov] With all of them. Even those with extremist inclinations. They are still our guys. And we have to fight for them. And if we start being selective about whom we cooperate with and whom we don't cooperate with, nothing is going to come of it. As for an alternative to the

Komsomol.... Yes, there is a great deal of talk about this at the moment. That democracy presupposes that a young person is free to choose the organization that best suits his interests. Sounds logical. But what if it is an alternative for the sake of an alternative?.. And if the Komsomol has not exhausted its own reserves? I believe, anyway, that it has not even used a small fraction of them. Indeed. It was conceived, in fact, as a political organization. But it has become a bureaucratic one. Another distortion today is the fact that it is becoming almost commercial. Cooperatives, sponsorship... Important, essential, of course. If only we did not have Komsomol functionaries building businesses, when they used to build careers. But if all the alien accretions are cleared away and the Komsomol marches in step with the times will its best features develop? Will it be rehabilitated in young people's eyes? Maybe then the question of alternative organizations will go away of its own accord? But take the following instance. More than 20 public organizations have now been set up under the Komsomol. They exist and are developing independently. Including ours, the Youth Housing Complexes, the Young Scientists' Council...

[Orlov] Doesn't your coordinating council operate on a par with Komsomol Central Committee departments? There is a view that for some time the association has been a kind of bureaucratic appendage of the Komsomol apparatus.

[Zapertov] It has not. And we will make every effort to ensure that it does not become one. We have fully developed ties with the Komsomol Central Committee, but in no way are we a department or appendage of it. And what is this talk of bureaucracy? You have to storm and fight your way through the various departments if you want to solve questions to do with the rehabilitation of wounded soldiers, with prostheses, and wheelchairs. We are currently organizing their production at the "Rus" rehabilitation center in cooperation with foreign firms. But what a job it is to overcome prejudice toward military-patriotic clubs. I have talked about this before. And prejudice toward "Afghans"?... No, let's hope we don't get tangled up in red tape.

[Orlov] But what do you think of the recent article in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS citing what you said, Oleg, about the prisoners: "Let them return and we will organize our own comrades' court...."

[Zapertov] What do I think? I regard it as I would any untruth. I never said anything of the sort. On television, in the press, or in a private conversation. I couldn't have said that. Our attitude toward prisoners is quite different. Not "let them return," but do everything possible to get them out, release them from imprisonment. Where they turn up first—be it the United States or Canada—is not important at all. The important thing is that they should not be incarcerated. This is what is now advocated by the International Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners-of-War in Afghanistan, which operates in New York. Then they find their own way. To be frank, there is the odd one among them who would not be able to look our people honestly and candidly in the face. Of course, our people are not in favor of lynch law. I think that no one else can censure such a person more fairly than that person himself.

[Orlov] The All-Union Association has taken it upon itself to tackle many issues—operation "Duty," aid for wounded soldiers and for the families of dead soldiers. Clubs. Economic activity. Development of the cooperative movement. Public activity. Can you handle all this?

[Zapertov] You did not mention another very important issue. Today we must, we are obliged to make our contribution to resolving interethnic issues. The sense of community and cohesion, irrespective of ethnic origin, is probably stronger among internationalist soldiers than anywhere else. If you trace them back you find that all interethnic conflicts begin, as a rule, with young people. Can we stand by in such circumstances? No. We must promote mutual understanding. As happened in Tbilisi, for example, where many "Afghans" were active in bringing the situation back to normal. What can I say, we are involved in all the processes in society. Are we up to it? Do you know, when you go into attack, figuratively speaking, when you leave the trench, you do not look back. Without belief in oneself it is not worth going forward....